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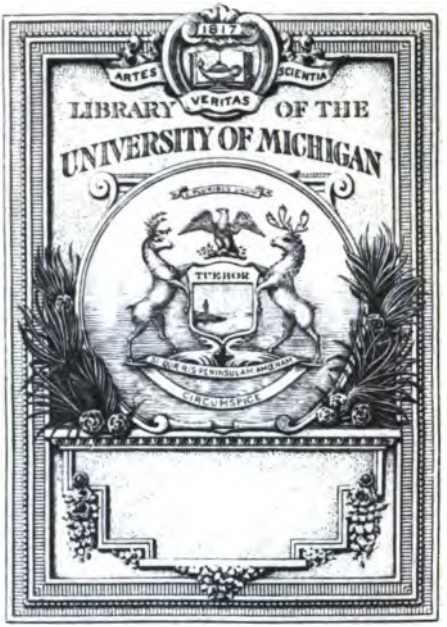
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Caius Criſpus

SALLUSTIUS

THE

HISTORIAN

Tranſlated into ENGLISH.

To which are prefixed

The LIFE *and* CHARACTER *of the* Author *and His* Works.

By *JOHN ROWE*, Eſq;

The SECOND EDITION, *Reviſed and Corrected throughout.*

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THE Life and Character OF *SALLUST* AND HIS WORKS.

Caius Criſpus Salluſtius the Hiſtorian was born at *Amiternum*, in the Countrey of the *Sabines*, in the Year Six hundred and ſixty eight from the Founding of *Rome*; being the very ſame wherein, according to the *Roman* Annals, *Athens* was taken and ſack'd by *Sylla*. He was deſcended from the noble Family of the *Salluſtii*, which had for a long Series of Years made a Figure in the ſecond Order or Degree of Quality in the Republick. He had his Education in *Rome*, the moſt illuſtrious and celebrated City Then in the

World for Empire and Arts. And finding his Genius not to lie to Arms or Horſes, or the Exerciſes of Hunting, but the more refined Labours of the Brain, he applied himſelf to the Purſuit of Learning; not of the chaffy or worthleſs Part of it, which is chiefly imployed about Words, or perhaps Matters as inſignificant, but of that which affords the Knowledge of Things, and qualifies a Man for the Service of his Countrey. He conſidered the Nature of Human Society, the Foundations of Government, with its ſeveral Forms, and the various Fates of Empires and Nations. He examined into their Conduct and Manners, and the Cauſes of their Greatneſs, and then of their Decay. Studied particularly the Affairs of the *Romans*; ſurveyed their Men, Money, and Arms; made an Eſtimate of their real Strength; and took an Account of their ancient Virtue; of the vaſt Atchievements of the Commonwealth, and to what a Sort of Diſcipline they were owing; and then of the Corruptions that crept into it, with their Riſe, and the miſerable Effects they produced. In a Word, he did not think it enough to be Book-learned, but he read Men. This was going to the Bottom of Things, and the Way to acquire Subſtantial Prudence. And the Fruit thereof may be

be ſeen in the wiſe and ſolid Reflections that appear in his Writings; in the lively Pourtraitures he hath made of Men; and in the admirable Leſſons of Politicks he hath given us.

Our Author was led as well by his Judgment as his Inclination to the Buſineſs of Hiſtory, as one of the greateſt and moſt uſeful Performances that the Wit of Man is capable of. And as in the Courſe of his Education he had for his Præceptor, among others, *Ateius Prætextatus*, entitled *Philologus*, one of the moſt famous Grammarians of the Age; the ſame *Ateius*, on his deſigning a Hiſtory, furniſhed him with an Abſtract of the Affairs of the *Romans*, to make his Choice of which he would write. There is Reaſon to believe he had laid the Foundation of his Hiſtorical Works in his earlier Years, but that he was interrupted from proſecuting it by the Occupations of a publick Employment: For being ſeized by the Diſeaſe of Ambition, as he very frankly intimates himſelf, he would needs have a Poſt in the Government. It ought to be obſerved, that the Manners of the *Romans* were at that Time extremely degenerated. The *Agrarian* and Sumptuary Laws had been deſpiſed; and Profuſeneſs and Avarice were almoſt univerſal: Which

though to Appearance quite inconſiſtent, yet reigned in the ſame Perſons by Turns, and ſupported and gave Birth to each other. All were for making their own Fortunes, whatever became of the Commonwealth; and every one was for raking to himſelf all that he could get, and as laviſhly ſpending it. And as this quickly brought 'em into Want, ſo it made them again rapacious for more. Little or no Diſtinction was made between a Man of Merit and a Raſcal. They who had moſt Money were careſſed; and Riches was Virtue, Reputation, and every Thing. Now *Salluſt* coming into Employment in ſo corrupt an Age, and being young, it will be the leſs wonder'd at that he ſuffered himſelf to be overcome. 'Twas enough perhaps to batter down a ſeverer Virtue than our Author cou'd boaſt of, who yet profeſſes that he did in his Heart abominate the Vices that he ſaw practiced. But the Tide againſt him was ſo ſtrong that all the great and magnanimous Notions he had been poſſeſs'd with of the Virtue and Diſcipline of the ancient *Romans* became languid in him. In ſhort, he was born away by the Torrent, and plunged into the common Corruption.

We are told, he was made a Tribune of the People in the Year that *Clodius* was

killed by *Milo*, which may be computed to have been about the Seven hundred and ſecond from the founding the City. In this Tribuneſhip, wherein, by the Way, 'tis ſaid that he got no Reputation, he acted with great Fierceneſs againſt *Milo*, to revenge the Treatment received from him on the Score of *Fauſta*, the Daughter of *Sylla*; with whom having, according to the Teſtimony of *Varro* and *Gellius*, been taken in Adultery, *Milo*, as Tribune at that Juncture, had cauſed our Author to be whipp'd and fin'd. Moreover, the Invective aſcribed to *Cicero*, which was probably written as high up as the Age of *Auguſtus*, or at leaſt of *Tiberius*, with ſeveral other Authors, relate that in the Year Seven hundred and three or four he was expelled the Senate by the then Cenſors, *Appius Claudius* and *Calpurnius Piſo*, upon Account of his Fornications and Adulteries. * *Suetonius* alſo tells us, That *Lenæus*, a Grammarian, and Freed-Man of *Pompey*'s, laſhed him very ſeverely in Lampoons, calling him Whore-Maſter, Glutton, Debauchee, and a Monſter of Repugnances in his Life and Writings. And the forementioned Invective arraigns him of ſelling his Patrimony in the Life-time

* Suetonius de Illuſtribus Grammaticis.

of his Father; of his having been twice tried for Crimes whereby he was brought into the laſt Jeopardy, and from whence he eſcap'd not by his own Innocence, but his Judges ſuffering themſelves to be forſworn; of his having the Impudence in open Senate to acknowledge himſelf guilty of Adultery: And in fine, of ſeveral other Enormities, with which I forbear to defile the Paper.

After his Expulſion out of the Senate, and during his Receſs from publick Affairs, he applied himſelf to the Proſecution of his former Deſign of compiling Hiſtory. But ſome Time after, upon *Julius Cæſar*'s coming to be at the Head of Affairs, our Author was not only reſtored to his Dignity of Senator, but was made Quæſtor. In which Office the aforeſaid Invective proceeds to accuſe him of great Corruption, of making Sale of every thing that he cou'd in it, of uſing it only as an Occaſion of Plunder, and of bringing the very Poſt into Diſgrace. However, he was afterwards made Prætor, I ſuppoſe by the like Promotion of *Cæſar*'s: In which Employment, as we have it from *Hirtius*, in the Beginning of his Hiſtory of the *African* War, *Cæſar* ſent him with a Squadron of his Fleet againſt the Iſland of *Cercina*, upon Intelligence there was a great

great Quantity of Corn in it. Moreover, * *Dio* has another Paſſage concerning his Prætorſhip to this Purpoſe; that the Forces of *Cæſar* which lay in *Campania*, and were deſigned for *Africa*, happening to Mutiny, and the Prætor *Salluſt* parting for *Rome* to give him an Account of it, he was very near being knocked in the Head by ſome of the Soldiers, who purſued after him, and who put to the Sword two Senators, and ſpared none that fell into their Hands. † The ſame Author relates that *Cæſar* beſtow'd on him alſo the Government of *Numidia*. And here again the Invective I have quoted falls upon him for his Covetouſneſs and Rapine; intimating that he treated it not like a Province, but an Enemy's Countrey by his Pollings and Exactions; that he ſcrap'd together all that he cou'd get, and brought it off for his own Uſe. By this Means he became ſo rich that he purchaſed a Market-Place on the *Quirinal* Hill, with the fine Gardens that to this Day are called the *Salluſtian*, and the Vill of *Tiburtum*. The Depredation was forgiven him by *Cæſar*; though it's ſaid there was a Peace-Offering of Money for it.

I ſuppoſe the Reader will take Notice

* Dio *in* Lib. 42. † Dio, *ibidem*.

that the blackeſt Things that are ſaid of our Author ſtand moſtly on the Credit of *Lenæus*, and the Declamation they have Father'd upon *Cicero*: Concerning which there may be ſome Queſtion whether they ought to be entirely relied on, after conſidering that as to the Invective, 'twas an Anſwer to one attributed to *Salluſt*; that there was ill Blood between him and *Tully*; and that the Declaimers, whoever they were, on neither Side had regard to Decency, but ſeem to have made it their chief Contention which ſhould ſay the worſt of the other. And as for *Lenæus*, he was a Creature of *Pompey*'s, of whom *Salluſt* had ſpoken reproachfully; and how cou'd the Grammarian make his Court to his Maſter better than by recriminating on the Speaker? Upon which, whether they might not be led to aggravate ſome Matters againſt him, I ſhall leave to others to make a Conjecture.

As for thoſe who were Friends of our Author, and had a Reputation for Wit and Learning, he was more particularly Intimate with *Meſſala*, *Cornelius Nepos*, and *Nigidius Figulus*. But *Cæſar* above all was the Perſon that had a peculiar Kindneſs for *Salluſt*, who again was a great Admirer of the other, regarding him as an extraordinary Man, as appears by the two Epiſtles to

to the latter, and by the Character drawn of him in *Catiline*'s Conſpiracy. And yet he ſeems to have been of a Genius in many Reſpects oppoſite to *Cæſar*'s; to have had different Notions of Government, and of Glory; and to give the Preference tacitly to *Cato*.

And here, after having expoſed ſo freely as above the Miſcarriages of *Salluſt*, 'twill be but juſt in me to lay hold on any Opportunity for relieving his Character; which I think may be done by taking ſome Notice of his two Epiſtles, written to *Cæſar* concerning the modelling of the Republick: Wherein he ſo glorioufly pleads the Cauſe of his Countrey with a Man of Ambition, and a Conqueror; ſpeaks of the Unhappineſs of tyrannical Government to the Prince himſelf, as well as to the People; laſhes the Barbarities of *Sylla* and others, who had once been Maſters of the Commonwealth; exhorts him to Moderation and Clemency, and to uſe his Advantages for the Good of the Empire; frankly avows to one who was ſuſpected to be of the Party of *Epicurus*, that there is a divine Providence over all; and that Anguiſh and Miſery will be the Puniſhments of Tyranny; points out the Path to true Glory, and preſſes him to reſtore the publick Li-

berty: And, as a Demonſtration that our Author was in earneſt, adviſes him to heal the Diviſions of the Citizens, and *to Reform their Manners*, that they might be capable of Liberty. Is there any Thing now in the whole World can be more gallant and honeſt than this? cou'd any Thing be more great and meritorious? Is this the common Way of addreſſing ſuch as have render'd themſelves Maſters? Was *Agrippa* a better Counſellor to *Auguſtus?* Or are Conquerors wont to be ſo adviſed? In ſhort, in ſpite of all the Corruptions that ſhaded the reſt of the Life of *Salluſt*, he will have a Luſtre, and be valued by Poſterity for the Bravery of his Conduct upon This Occaſion.

He Married *Terentia*, the Wife of *Cicero*, after her being Divorced from the latter; which whether it gave Birth to the Feud that there was between him and the Orator, or was ſubſequent to it, and poſſibly increaſed it, as I rather believe, remains uncertain. But as to his Death, we are ſurer it happened ſome few Years after that of *Cæſar*; that he arrived to the Age of Threeſcore and two, and departed this Life in his own Countrey.

Upon the whole, he ſeems to have been a Perſon addicted at once to Learning and

to

to Pleaſure; of the moſt exalted Sentiments of Virtue for the Theory Part, but as Impotent in the Practick; To have had the corrupt Inclinations of his Will too ſtrong for the Light of his Mind: Unable to forbear condemning in others the Miſdemeanors he fell into himſelf; An Admirer of the Bravery of the ancient *Romans*, but a yielder to all the Debaucheries of the modern; in the Interim, a Lover of Liberty and his Countrey, a generous Pleader of its Cauſe with a Victor; and in fine, a Miſcellany of Vice and of Virtue.

This for his Morals; I now proceed to give an Account of the Productions of his Wit, which may make ſome Amends to his Fame for what it will ſuffer through the Faults of the former. And here I wou'd firſt obſerve that our Author wou'd certainly have ſtood in a much fairer and more advantageous Light with Poſterity, if all his Works, or at leaſt ſo much of 'em as wou'd make up ſomething of a Body of Hiſtory, had deſcended entire to our Times. For beſides what I have now tranſlated, he undoubtedly wrote ſeveral other and larger Hiſtories, tho' they have not come down to us. And ſince he related the War with *Jugurtha*, an Affair

fair with which he was not cotemporary, who can believe that he let alone the Tranſactions that paſs'd in his own Time? As the Succeſs of *Lucullus* againſt *Mithridates*; the Conteſt between *Marius* and *Sylla*; the Uſurpation and Tyranny of the latter; the Victories of *Pompey*, and the Efforts of *Sertorius*; the Diſorders that happen'd in the Time of the *Gracchi*, and the Reſtoration of the Tribuneſhip to the People; with a great many other Things that occurr'd from the Birth of our Author to the Conſpiracy of *Catiline*, which contain'd the Space of Twenty five Years. Moreover the Interval from that Period to his Death was thick planted with Action: Such as the War between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*; The Efforts of *Cato*, and his tragical Death; the ſubverting the Liberty of the Commonwealth; and the ſtabbing of *Julius Cæſar* in the Senate-Houſe. Of all which and of other Occurrences he is thought with Reaſon to have written the Hiſtories. But it is, as one has wittily obſerv'd on a like Occaſion, but a poor Conſolation to a Merchant to peruſe his Bill of Freight after he is ſure that the Ship is loſt. We have only the Fragments of ſome of 'em extant; the Body being unhappily periſh'd through, either, the common Miſ-

fortune

fortune that prey'd on ſo great a Part of the Ancient Learning, I mean, the Devaſtations that were made in the *Roman* Empire by the barbarous Nations; or elſe through the Envy (as ſome have ſuppoſed) of thoſe who were Friends to *Cicero* or *Livy*; the latter of whom has been ſet up as a Rival with *Salluſt* in the Buſineſs of Hiſtory. Upon which Account there has been a Suſpicion that there were not wanting Endeavours to ſuppreſs as far as was poſſible the Products of his Wit, tho' not the Miſdemeanors of his Life. However it was, the Fragments that we have reſemble the Ruins of an ancient Building that has here and there a Pillar or a Portico of Maſterly Workmanſhip yet ſtanding, to aſſure every one that ſurveys 'em, there was once a moſt magnificent Pile. And without detracting from *Tacitus* or *Livy* I will venture to ſay that thoſe great Authors might have met with leſs Admiration from the World, had *Salluſt* come down to us more entire. But 'twill ſtill be remember'd by good Judges that in theſe Matters 'tis not the Bulk, but the Wit and Judgment that makes the Merit. Nor will any of Taſte among the Moderns ever diſturb his Enjoyment of the Place allow'd him by the beſt Criticks of Antiquity, who put

put him at the Head of the *Roman* Hiſtorians.

But to do further Right to his Abilities it will not be thought impertinent if I enter ſo far into the Nature of Hiſtory and the Qualifications of a juſt Hiſtorian, as to ſay that Hiſtory is an orderly Narration of Things true, publick, and great, written with Judgment, Eloquence, and Spirit for the Inſtruction and Benefit of Mankind; that the Matter it works upon is the high and important Tranſactions of States and Kingdoms; that its End is to form Princes, Embaſſadors, Miniſters of State, and illuſtrious Captains; to give Men the Experience of paſt Ages, and qualify them for the Service of Publick Societies; to eternize the Gallantry of Heroes; and to kindle a Jealouſy and Emulation of their Glory; that to this Purpoſe there ought to be employ'd all the Efforts of Eloquence and of Wit; that the Hiſtorian ſhou'd be of no Countrey, but a Citizen of the World, diveſted of Prejudices, and diſpos'd to render exact Juſtice to all Nations and Parties of Men; that he ought to have nothing trifling or ſuperfluous, nothing but what is Noble and of Conſequence; that he ſhou'd have a Sort of unbounded Wit

to

to comprehend the Nature of Things: to explain Counſels, unravel Intrigues, and diſintangle the Intricacies of Affairs; to diſſect the Nature of Mankind, and unfold their Spirits and the Springs of their Actions; that he ought to have, as inward Riches, ſo an Eloquence to bring 'em out into View; in a Word; all the Addreſs of an Orator, with the Elevation and Heat of a Poet. I am very ſenſible that the Reader will think there is either too much requir'd in this, or that 'tis not all of it applicable to *Salluſt*. 'Twill be ſaid, he has not been juſt to *Cicero* in not only omitting his Character, but alſo in paſſing over in ſilence Matters of Fact that wou'd have made for his Glory, tho' in his Account of *Catiline*'s Conſpiracy, he had a fair Opportunity of mentioning ſeveral: Such as the Publick Thanks of the Senate given him for his Conduct in defeating the Plot; the calling him Father and Deliverer of his Countrey, and declaring he merited the Civick Crown; the ſetting up of a gilt Statue in Honour to him at *Capua*, and adopting him for their Patron. But the Reader perhaps will be better ſatisfy'd after being minded, that the Orator had been careful to preſerve the Memory of them himſelf

ſelf † in Terms ſufficiently pompous and magnificent; and what Neceſſity then was there for relating them over again in Hiſtory? And as to the not inſerting his Character, it might not be ſuch a Diſadvantage to him as ſome People may be apt to imagine. Had he made his Picture, with what Juſtice, after the touching his great Qualities, cou'd he ever have baulk'd the letting us know that with all his Virtues he was exceſſively vain: That he lov'd Incenſe to ſuch a Degree as to offer it to himſelf upon all Occaſions: That he was of a Spirit too low and timorous to bear up againſt the Power of Tyrants: That, in fine, on the Loſs of the *Roman* Liberty he was little better than a Temporizer?

But the Criticks will go on to Object that the Prefaces of *Salluſt* have not only little or no Relation to the Pieces to which he has prefix'd 'em, but are alſo too long; that the ſame Prolixity may be given in Charge againſt even his fine Deduction in *Catiline*'s Conſpiracy of the Manners of the *Romans*: As likewiſe againſt ſome of his Harangues; that he plunder'd the Anti-

† Cicero in 3. Invectivâ in Catilinam. Idem in Piſonem. In Epiſtol. ad Atticum, & in Oratione pro P. Seſtio.

Antiquities of *Cato* for Words, and affected to innovate in his Diction and Stile; and the moſt ingenious Father * *Le Moyne* has complain'd of his making *Memmius* harangue it upon no other Account than becauſe he was one of the beſt Speakers of his Time. As to his Prefaces, I have nothing to ſay for 'em, only that I look upon it to have been the Fault rather of his Will than his Judgment; and with the Father, I mention'd, believe 'em the Remains of his Oratorian or Declaiming Performances: Which rather than loſe he wou'd place here, how ill a Figure ſoever they might make. His old Words I ſhall alſo leave to ſtand or fall at the Mercy of the Reader: Nor will I wholly vindicate the length of ſome of his Orations, tho' methinks they're ſuch, we can hardly retrench 'em without Regret, any more than his Account of the *Roman* Manners. But then as to the Speech of *Memmius*, I cannot ſee that the Cenſure is ſo juſt. For tho the Hiſtorian indeed ſays that he wou'd, in regard of the Eloquence of *Memmius*'s being in mighty Repute at *Rome*, rehearſe one of the many Orations he deliver'd to the People, yet he ſingles out that, which he made upon

* *Of the Art both of Writing and Judging of Hiſtory.*

upon *Beſtia*'s Return from *Numidia*: Where he had patch'd up an infamous Peace of his own Head, and for Money, with *Jugurtha*; a Tranſaction, which tho' generally reſented, was endeavour'd to be palliated by ſome great Men. Now it was to expoſe the Practices of thoſe that our Author accommodates the Tribune with his Eloquence, in a Speech that enlightens the Buſineſs he was upon, and helps us to conceive of Matters more clearly. And how this can be deem'd Impertinence I am at an utter Loſs to diſcover.

Theſe I think are the principal Cenſures that the Labours of *Salluſt* have undergone. And after all he will keep his Ground, and continue of the very foremoſt of the Order. His Subject is great and important Matters ſifted from every Thing trivial, or of Levity. He ſeems (at leaſt for the moſt Part) to have been a diſintereſs'd and impartial Writer; to be attach'd to no particular Party; to be free from the Influence of Hope and of Fear; to have made Truth his Favourite and Care; and to have aim'd at Certainty, if poſſible, in all Things. Inſomuch as for the *Punick* Affairs, we are told, he not only examin'd the Memoirs and Writings of thoſe Countries, but viſited

many

many Places in Perſon, to avoid Miſtakes in his Accounts and Deſcriptions.

But 'tis not enough for Hiſtorians to produce bare Truth, how important ſoever. She muſt alſo have handſome and becoming Cloaths: And the Warmth and Lights of Eloquence muſt attend Her. Our Author is admirable in this Particular; and his Structure is animated and enliven'd throughout. There is Life, there is Spirit, there is Energy in his Work; and his Diction is of the Character of Poeſy: Wherein he has all the moſt glowing Colours, tho' without any Thing flaring or improper. *Pontin* has made an agreeable Parallel of the Figures and Manner of Speech in *Salluſt* and ſome Others with the Like in *Virgil*: and ſhewn that the latter in many Inſtances is not more a Poet than the former. We are, almoſt preſent at his Battels and Sieges, the Deſcriptions have ſuch a Life and Vivacity. And we are ſecretly drawn to Intereſt our ſelves in the Events of his Actions and Succeſſes of his Perſons.

I may not omit to ſpeak of his lively and moſt inſtructive Portraitures of *Men*. He enters into the bottom of their Nature: Explores the Labyrinths and Receſſes of their Souls: And with a ſort of Anatomy lays open all the Folds and Doublings of

of their Spirits. In which Performance, and particularly in the Character given of *Catiline*, he hath let us ſee, there are Qualities to be found in the Mind of Man that may look at firſt Sight inconſiſtent, yet are not ſo, but may reign alternately, if not together, in the ſame Perſons. And laſtly, his Draughts are of that Kind, that if they go before the Narration they prepare us for it, and raiſe in our Minds an Expectation, which he never diſappoints, that ſuch and ſuch Facts will enſue: But wherever he places them, they agree to, and ſeem to ariſe from the Actions of the Perſons.

And as his Images of *Men* are excelling, his Reflections on Things are as juſt and ſolid. He had a Genius capable of comprehending and taking the Height of the greateſt Matters: And he paſſes ſuch Judgments upon them, as ſeem to proceed from a finiſh'd Wiſdom. I might alſo mention the Sententiouſneſs of our Author, wherein there is as much of Poignancy as of Weight. But I paſs it, and haſten to a ſhort View of his Stile in ſome other Reſpects. I have ſaid before, it approaches the Poetick: And here let me take ſome notice of its Brevity. There's a certain Frugality, a Continence in his Language that he has out-done *Thucydides*

dides himſelf in. And one of the Topicks that *Tacitus* is prais'd from, is his imitating *Salluſt* in this Perfection: Of which none can ever be capable, that is not of an accurate and conſummate Judgment; nor without a Sort of Temperance of the Mind, and Command over a Man's Spirit. For with all his Thrift and Parſimony of Expreſſion there's a rich and ſufficient Expence of Matter; and 'twas the Talent of our accompliſh'd Hiſtorian, tho' of very few others beſide him, to come up to his own Remark upon *Cato*, *Of diſpatching much in a few Words*. Nor does his Conciſeneſs at all lie in making the Garment too ſcanty for the Body. 'Twas not with the Ideas of his Mind only he was able to meaſure the greateſt Things; he hath alſo cloath'd 'em with a Stile and Expreſſion fully adequate and proportion'd to their Nature; and has made at once his Thoughts and his Diction accord in Grandeur with the Dignity of his Subject. This is the *Facta Dictis Exæquanda* which *Salluſt* himſelf has taken Notice of as one of the trying Difficulties of Hiſtory. And it was perhaps for this that St. *Auguſtine* entitled him † *An Hiſtorian of Dignify'd Truth*

† Salluſtius Nobilitatæ Veritatis Hiſtoricus. *Auguſtinus de Civitate Dei*, Lib. 1. Cap. 5.

Truth. To conclude, he never becomes tedious, nor gives us a Satiety, but we riſe from him with an Appetite.

The Reader will excuſe me from ſpeaking any Thing concerning the Tranſlation we are now coming to. For beſide the Vanity, that is hard to ſhun in giving an Account of one's own Performances, I have made him attend me too long already, in peruſing theſe Remarks on the Original. I will only ſay that 'tis not ſo eaſy, as ſome People may be apt to fancy it, to transfuſe ſuch an Author as *Salluſt* into the Mould of the *Britiſh* Language without loſing any Thing of his Spirit. And how far I have ſucceeded herein muſt be left to every Body's Judgment but my own.

JOHN ROWE.

THE

THE HISTORY OF *Caius Crispus Sallustius:*

Containing an Account of *Catiline's* Conspiracy.

ALL they who have any Emulation to excell the Rank of inferior Creatures, muſt make it their Care not to paſs their Lives in Obſcurity or Silence, like the Beaſts, which are by Nature diſpos'd to grovel upon this Earth and be Slaves to their Bellies: For Man has a Soul that has Faculties to exert, beſides thoſe which the Body is poſſeſs'd of. The latter is, in Truth, but a Servant, and ought to be order'd and manag'd by the former: And as by the one we are levelled with the Brutes, by the other we participate the Divine Nature. I think it therefore a nobler Way to become famous by the Force of the Mind, than by any Strength or Endowments of the Body; and look upon it as a glorious Repriſal made by us for the Shortneſs of our Lives, if we can but render our Memories immortal: Which cannot be done by the Gloſs of Beauty or the Grandeur

deur of Riches, thoſe tranſitory Things, but will ſurely by Virtue, which is everlaſting. I confeſs 'twas heretofore a Diſpute among Mankind, whether Strength of Body or Abilities of Mind were uſefulleſt in War: Foraſmuch as Council and Contrivance are neceſſary before we can ſafely enter upon Action, and after the Deſign is well laid, a vigorous Execution is as neceſſary too: And ſo neither is ſufficient of it ſelf, but both muſt concur in order to Succeſs. Wherefore, among the ſeveral Kings (the firſt Title of Empire that was known) who reign'd in the earlier Ages of the World, ſome choſe to cultivate their Minds, and others to exerciſe and improve their Bodies. This was before the Peace of the Univerſe knew any Diſturbance from Ambition, and while the Potentates of it were content with the Portion of Territory they then had. But after *Cyrus* began to make Conqueſts in *Aſia*, and the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* in *Greece*; when the gaining of Empire came to be reputed a good Cauſe for taking up of Arms, and Glory was meaſured by Extent of Dominion, it was ſoon made appear by Experience, that Policy was of greater Avail in War than mere Strength. And as to the Times of Peace it ſelf, would Princes but take Care to exert as much Virtue of Mind in it as in Arms, the Effect would be, that Human Affairs would be on a happier and more ſettled Foundation; nor ſhou'd we ſee ſuch Confuſions in the World, or tranſlating of Government from one Hand to another. For Dominion is eaſily enough maintained by the like Virtues by which it was acquired. But when Sloth comes in the Place of Application, and Ambition and Tyranny in that of Temperance and Juſtice, the Proſperity of the Conqueror changes with his Manners, and Empire will go over to ſuch as are more worthy.

The

The Arts of Agriculture, Building, Navigation, are all owing to the Virtue of Industry: But how many Men do become Slaves to the Business of Eating, Drinking, and Sleeping; are stupid and senseless, and pass their Lives like those that have nothing to do in this World; inverting the Nature of Things so far as to delight only in pampering their Bodies, and to regard their Minds as useless and burdensome. Now I reckon it much the same Thing as to these, whether they live or die; for in either Case they are sure of the Fate of being buried in Oblivion or Silence. But that is the Man in my Opinion, who truly lives and enjoys his Being, that takes Care to become the Author of some noble Art or illustrious Action, to insure a Name to himself in the World. Many and various are the Ways to Honour; and the different Geniuses of Mankind dispose some to the Choice of this, and others of that. 'Tis beyond Question a noble Thing to act bravely for the Commonwealth: And to write or speak to the Advantage of it, is what is not without its Worth. Times of Peace, as well as of War, may give the Aspiring an Opportunity to be famous: And as well the Historians of illustrious Actions, as the Heroes who atchiev'd them, have acquired Reputation. I will not pretend that the Historian is entitled to an equal Share of Glory with his Hero; but suffer me to say, that it is not a slight or an easy Task to compile an History: First, because the Facts which it describes ought to be equall'd by a Measure of Narration: And next, because there are many too apt to judge that the Censures they find in it of Miscarriages do proceed from Envy and ill Nature. On the other Hand, when the Writer sets out the Virtue and Gallantry of brave Men, if the Reader supposes himself capable of coming up to the same Pitch, he can well enough digest the Account of it;

but if it be carry'd higher, 'tis Romance with him.

For my own Part, in my younger Years I was led away by my Inclination (after the Example of many others) to enter into the Service of the Publick, where I quickly perceived my self beſet by a formidable Army of Corruptions. Inſtead of Modeſty, Innocence, and Virtue, there were Impudence, *Bribery, and Avarice predominant. Now, though I had theſe Things in Abhorrence, as having not then been enter'd in Evil, yet it will not be much wonder'd at if in ſuch a general Depravation of Manners my thoughtleſs Youth was ſeduc'd by Ambition. And therefore, tho' I preſerv'd my ſelf free from the other reigning Diſeaſes of the Age, I own that the ſame Thirſt after Greatneſs, and the ſame Envy and Reſtleſneſs of Spirit that poſſeſſed others, had ſeized upon me. But after I had got rid of the Snares and Inquietudes attending a publick Station, and determined to paſs the Remainder of my Life at a Diſtance from all Affairs of the Government; I took up this Reſolution too, Not to loſe ſo improvable a Retirement by becoming either thoughtleſs or idle, nor yet to employ it in Huſbandry or Hunting, or any of the ignoble Amuſements of Life; but returning to proſecute the Deſigns from which a pernicious Ambition had tempted me to digreſs, I reſolved to attempt the compoſing a Hiſtory of the People of *Rome*, and ſuch of their Tranſactions as ſhould ſeem worthieſt to be tranſmitted to Poſterity. The rather, becauſe I was no Way engaged in the Intereſts of any particular Party, and was perfectly clear of any Influence from either of the Paſſions of Hope or Fear. My

* *The Ways of Bribing were ſeveral; Sometimes by Treating, and ſometimes by giving Corn among the People: The latter of which was moſt commonly called* Largitio.

My firſt Eſſay then, which I will handle with all the Truth and Brevity I can, ſhall be an Account of *Catiline*'s Conſpiracy: For that was an Enterprize which, in my Opinion, deſerves to be remember'd for its ſingular Villany, and the Hazard into which it brought the Republick. But it will, I conceive, be to the Purpoſe, to repreſent the Character of the Man before I enter on the Relation of his Deeds.

L. Catiline, who deſcended of a * Noble Family, was a Perſon of great Vigour of Mind, and Abilities of Body, but of a profligate Diſpoſition. From his very Youth he delighted in Broils, and he grew up in Robberies and Bloodſhed. His Body would endure Cold, Hunger, and Watchings, to a Degree that is almoſt incredible: And his Spirit was bold, turbulent, inconſtant, and full of all the Doublings of Subtilty; Ready at inventing any Thing falſe, and dextrous in diſſembling that which was true; Covetous he was of every Thing of another's, and profuſe of his own at the ſame Time; Violent in all the Deſires he conceived; Of a voluble Tongue, but without Solidity; Vaſt, inſatiable, and boundleſs in his Aims; and always aſpiring after ſuch Things as were prodigious, impoſſible, and above his Condition.

Nothing would ſatisfy the Ambition of this Man, after the ſucceſsful Uſurpation of *L. Sylla*, but to make himſelf Maſter of the Commonwealth. Nor did he at all matter what Means he employed therein, ſo he gained but his Deſign. His fierce and unruly Spirit was exaſperated every Day more and more, and puſh'd on to the executing his Enterprize by his neceſſitous Circumſtances, and the Conſcience of his Crimes: Both which he had brought upon himſelf to a great

* *He was of the* Sergian *Family, which was* Patrician.

Degree by the Villanies I have mention'd; and a farther Incitement he had to the Attempt from the general and prevailing Depravation of Manners, compounded particularly of the two worſt and moſt oppoſite Evils, Profuſion and Avarice. But ſince I am drawn in by my Subject to ſpeak of the Morals of the Republick, I conceive it proper to look back, and take a brief Account of the Manners and Diſcipline of our Anceſtors both at Home and Abroad; to conſider their Adminiſtration of Affairs, in what Condition they left it their Poſterity, and how from the moſt virtuous of States, it became in Time transform'd into the worſt and moſt corrupted on the Face of the Earth.

The City of *Rome*, as far as I can find, was firſt built and inhabited by the *Trojans*; who flying their Country under *Æneas*, wandered in queſt of a new Settlement, and were here join'd by the original Occupiers, an uncultivated and barbarous Race, that had lived without any Government or Laws. And after theſe two ſeveral Nations, though differing in original Language and Manners, had begun to cohabit in one City, 'tis almoſt incredible how ſoon and how happily they imbodied, and became one People. But after by increaſing the Number of Citizens, by extraordinary Diſcipline, and extending their Territory, they began to make a Figure in the World, their Growth, as is uſual in ſuch Caſes, gave Umbrage to the neighbouring Potentates, who commenced a War thereupon againſt them. The Friends that came to their Aid were but few; for the greateſt Part afraid of the Event choſe to remain Neuter at Home. But as for the *Romans* in the mean Time, they ran, they flew, to betake themſelves to their Arms: They ordered with a wonderful Diligence and Vigour all their Affairs both at Home and Abroad; and chearing

and

and incouraging one another they marched boldly out againſt their Enemies, and defended the Cauſe of Liberty and their Countrey with their Swords in their Hands. And after they had with great Bravery repulſed the Danger that threatned themſelves, they haſted to the Succour of their Friends and Confederates, and ſoon enlarged their Reputation and Alliances more by giving than receiving Aſſiſtance.

The Government they ſettled, was a Government by Law, and the Adminiſtrator of it had the Title of King. Thoſe whoſe Bodies were empaired by Age, but their Minds enlarged by Experience and Wiſdom, were ſelected and conſtituted as a Council of State, and were called Fathers in regard of their Years, or their Father-like Care and Solicitude for the Publick.

But after Kingſhip, that at firſt was ſet up for preſerving of Liberty and extending of Empire, had degenerated into Ambition and Tyranny, they preſently altered the Form of their Government, and erected Conſuls with an annual Power. This Invention they ſuppos'd wou'd prove a Bar to the Deſigns of Ambitious Spirits. The State being form'd upon this Model, every gallant and able Genius began to diſcover and exert Himſelf. For Kings always look with a more jealous and diſcouraging Aſpect on the Virtuous than the Bad; and to Princes the Bravery of Subjects is a Terror. But *Rome* being now made a free City, 'tis almoſt incredible how powerful it became in a very ſhort Time; ſo ardent was the Thirſt and Contention for Glory. The young Men, as ſoon as they were able to bear Arms, were inur'd to all the Fatigues of Campaigning, were inſtructed in the Art and Diſcipline of War; and took more delight in the Bravery of their Arms, and the Mettle and Courage of their martial Steeds, than in Whores and Debauches. Now to theſe Men

upon any Occaſion Hardſhip was no new Thing: To theſe no Marches were tedious, nor Places inacceſſible: No Face of an Enemy was formidable; their Hardy Virtue ſurmounted every Thing: And the greateſt Contention that prevailed amongſt them was, who ſhould acquire the moſt Glory. Every one was for puſhing forward to annoy the Enemy, or to ſcale their Walls; and was fond of being ſeen and diſtinguiſhed in performing Acts of prodigious Valour. This they reckon'd the beſt Riches: They thought the trueſt Honour and Nobility conſiſted in ſuch Achievements as theſe. Fame was a Thing they were covetous of; but in Matters of Money they were nobly profuſe. And as an infinite Stock of the former was deſired, ſo a moderate Portion of the other contented them. If it would not be too great a Digreſſion, I could eaſily give you ſeveral Inſtances of the People of *Rome*'s having baffled vaſt Armies of Enemies with an Handful of Men; and of their having carry'd, with Sword in Hand, Cities that Nature her ſelf had fortified: But Fortune, I find, has a Stroke in every Thing, and either brightens or caſts a Shade upon all the Actions of Mankind, more according to Humour than Merit. The Deeds of the *Athenians* doubtleſs were great, and yet I believe they were ſomewhat leſs than Fame is for having us to conceive of 'em. But becauſe *Athens* had noble Writers, the Acts of that Republick are celebrated through the whole World as the moſt glorious: And the Gallantry of thoſe Heroes who perform'd 'em, has had the Luck to be thought as tranſcendent as the Eloquence of ſuch Wits as deſcrib'd 'em. But the People of *Rome* never enjoy'd the Advantage of ſuch a Stock of Hiſtorians. For every Man of Spirit and Abilities was wholly engroſs'd by the Affairs of his Countrey. Mind and Body were employ'd at once; and all your gallant

lant and brave Souls were fonder of Action than of Writing or Diſcourſe; preferring the more ſolid Reputation of having Deeds of their own to be celebrated, to That of becoming the Hiſtorians of another's. Wherefore exact Diſcipline and Manners were obſerved both at Home and Abroad. The greateſt Unity for the Common Good, and as little of Avarice prevail'd among them. Laws did not oblige 'em more than their own Inclinations to do Juſtice. All their Feuds and Quarrels were with Enemies: And the only Contention among *Romans* was who ſhould exceed the other in Virtue. They were very magnificent in the Worſhip of the Gods; Frugal in the managing domeſtick Concerns; Punctually true to their Friends and Allies; and ſupported themſelves and the Commonwealth both in War and in Peace, by the two Virtues, of Valour in the one, and Equity in the other. Their Diſcipline was ſuch, that in Time of War they inflicted Puniſhments oftner on ſuch as attack'd an Enemy againſt Orders, or kept the Field after ſounding a Retreat, than on thoſe who happen'd to be driven from their Standard, or obliged to quit the Poſt that was aſſigned 'em. But during Peace, they govern'd themſelves and the Empire more by Mildneſs than Fear: And choſe rather to overlook, than ſeverely proſecute or revenge Offences.

But while the Republick of *Rome* thus flouriſh'd by Valour and Diſcipline, puiſſant Kings and Formidable Nations being brought to ſubmit to the Force of her Arms, her Rival *Carthage* entirely deſtroyed, and the Empire extended over all the World; capricious Fortune in a Fit of Madneſs ſet her ſelf to confound all; and the Men who had born Fatigues with Succeſs, and triumph'd over Diſtreſs and Difficulties, periſh'd thro' Idleneſs, and by that Abundance which had much better have been left to others. Love of Money, and Deſire of Dominion,

were the firſt Evils that began to prevail, and were the Inlet of all manner of Corruption: For Avarice undermined Probity and Faith, and every Thing, in ſhort, that was virtuous and good; brought in a Spirit of Pride and Inhumanity, and led Men to neglect the Gods, and to make ſale of all Things whatſoever. And as for Ambition, it drew many to intrigue and act a deceitful Part, moving them to deſign one Thing in their Minds, but to make Profeſſion of another with their Tongues; to value Friendſhip or Enmity with any, not according to the Worth of the Parties, but as it agreed with their own Intereſt; and to be ever carefuller to carry with 'em a Fair Face, than an Honeſt Mind. Yet it ought to be obſerv'd that theſe Vices grew not up at once, but by Degrees; and ſometimes met with Puniſhments to reſtrain them. But after the Diſeaſe had ſpread it ſelf like a raging Peſtilence among the People, *Rome* was chang'd into a new Thing; and from the moſt virtuous and beſt of Governments, became the moſt corrupt and intolerable. But the Minds of Men were not at firſt ſo far poſſeſs'd by Covetouſneſs as Ambition, a Vice yet which was nearer Virtue: For Honour, Glory, and Empire, are Things that both Good and Bad have the ſame Paſſion for; but the one purſues them the fair Way, whereas the other, becauſe he has not the due Qualifications to riſe by, reſorts to Tricks and ſcandalous Methods. But as for Avarice, its only End is to rake up all the Money it can, a Thing which no wiſe Man ever coveted for its own ſake. 'Tis a Vice, which like a Diſeaſe that's poiſonous, corrupts at once both the Mind and Body. 'Tis always infinite, 'tis for ever inſatiable, and is not to be quench'd by Abundance or Want. But after *Sylla*, who diſparag'd his fair and plauſible Beginnings by a wicked Concluſion, had maſter'd the State which he pretended to Reſcue, every Man fell to rapping and rending: One greedily ſeiz'd upon a Houſe

Houſe, another as eagerly poſſeſs'd himſelf of Lands; and the Victors, who ſet themſelves no Bounds, committed moreover the moſt diſhonourable Cruelties on the Perſons of their Fellow-Citizens. Add to this, That *L. Sylla*, to oblige and fix his *Aſian* Forces to his Intereſt, had, contrary to the ancient Diſcipline of the *Romans*, indulg'd them in ſo much Luxury and Idleneſs, and quarter'd 'em in ſuch looſe and delicious Places, as debauch'd the rough Spirits of his Soldiers. There it was that the *Roman* Army was firſt ſuffer'd to drink and whore, and became fond of Pictures, of Goblets, and the other Rarities of a vicious Age. To obtain which, they forbore not to perpetrate all Sorts of Robbery both publick and private; to plunder the very Temples of the Gods, and to invade all Things both ſacred and civil. And therefore after gaining a Battel, theſe Men wou'd be ſure to take Care not to leave a Rag to the Vanquiſh'd. To be plain, even virtuous and wiſe Spirits are apt to grow intemperate with Succeſs; and therefore 'tis much leſs to be expected that an ungoverned and licentious Soldiery ſhou'd uſe their Victories with any Moderation. When Honour came to be annexed to Riches, and Glory and Empire to be the Servants of Money, Virtue was quickly obſerv'd to languiſh; Poverty was deem'd to be a Reproach; And Honeſty was ſuſpected of ill Meaning. Wealth made the Youth to degenerate into Luxury, Avarice, and Inſolence; led 'em to rap, and rend, and conſume, to be unſatisfy'd with every Thing of their own, and to thirſt continually for that of others; to lay aſide all Chaſtity and Shame; to prophane all Things both human and divine; and, in ſhort, to obſerve no Temper, nor to have Regard to any Thing whatſoever! 'Twou'd be worth the While to take a Survey of the Seats and Villa's of Theſe Times, built with the Magnificence of great Cities: And then to viſit the Temples of the Gods,

founded by our devout Anceſtors, who made Religion the greateſt Ornament of their ſacred Edifices, and the nobleſt Furniture of their own Houſes to conſiſt only of heroick Virtue; and who never took from a conquer'd Enemy any Thing but the Power of doing hurt. But the wicked Temper of this Age, the moſt corrupted that ever was, ſticks not to rob an Ally himſelf of what the Generoſity of our Anceſtors, the gallanteſt Race of Mankind, would have left inviolate to a vanquiſh'd Adverſary; as if the trueſt Exerciſe of Power were to do all the Miſchief that's poſſible. What need I mention other Things that will hardly meet with Credit from thoſe who have not been Eye-Witneſſes of their Truth? Such as levelling of Hills and Mountains, and raiſing Palaces in the Sea it ſelf by private Men for the Purpoſes of Pleaſure: To whom their Riches, in my Opinion, prove the greateſt Scandal in the World, by the prodigal Uſe that they make of that which they might as eaſily employ with Honour. At the ſame Time Drinking and Whoring, and every Thing elſe that was vicious, came in: Men chang'd themſelves into Women; and Women proſtituted themſelves in publick. Sea and Land were ranſack'd for the Palate: Sleep was indulg'd before it was wanted; and without being contented to ſtay till Hunger, Thirſt, or Cold, came upon them, they anticipated their Needs through a Wantonneſs of Spirit. Theſe Extravagancies put the Youth, after they had ſquander'd away their Eſtates, upon ſupplying their Wants by villainous Enterprizes: For a Mind corrupted by ſuch Courſes had always Luſts that urg'd to be gratify'd, and was therefore for going into any Project for getting Money to conſume again.

Now in ſo debauch'd and populous a City 'twas an eaſy Matter, as *Catiline* found it, to pick up Multitudes of flagitious Followers. For every lewd and profligate Fellow, who by Drinking, Whoring,

ring, or other Debaucheries had brought his own Patrimony to nothing, or had run himself deep into other Men's Debt for Money to pay for a Fine or Pardon: Whoever were guilty of Parricide, or Sacrilege: All, who had been Convicts already, or expected they should be such for their Crimes: And every Villain, whose Tongue or Hand had maintain'd him by Perjury or Assassinations: In a word, all who were press'd by Want, or hurry'd by Guilt or a villanous Mind flock'd to *Catiline*, became of his Intimates, and attended upon him like a sort of Guard. Moreover if any, as yet innocent, happen'd to fall into his Acquaintance, they soon came by daily Converse with him, and the Baits which they met with, to be as bad as the rest. But above all, he was most fond of the Familiarity of the young Men: Whose Minds being unexperienc'd and pliable, he knew cou'd be more easily seduc'd. And therefore, according as he found 'em dispos'd, he pimp'd and provided Whores for some: And others, he furnish'd with Dogs and Horses. In a word, he spar'd no Cost, nor, perhaps the honour of his own Body, to make 'em firm and entire in his Interests. Sure I am 'twas the Opinion of some, that the Youth who frequented *Catiline*'s House were concern'd in the most unnatural Obscenities; tho' I own that these Surmises were founded rather on the great wickedness of the Man, than on any certain Knowledge of the Matter. However 'twas well known that *Catiline* had been guilty, when but a young Man, of several Acts of abominable Lewdness, in debauching a young Lady of Quality, and intriguing with a vestal Virgin and others, in Violation of all Law and Religion. And last of all, to consummate his Villanies, falling in Love with *Aurelia Orestilla*, a Woman, who, bating her Face, had nothing to commend her to any Person

ſon of Virtue: And ſhe making a Scruple of marrying him for fear of his Son, who was then of Age, 'tis reported, for certain, that he rid his Houſe of him, by diſpatching the Youth out of the World, to make way for his deteſtable Nuptials. Which Fact I believe was one of the main Cauſes of his haſt'ning his Plot. For a Perſon ſo wicked as he was, and at odds both with the Gods and Men, cou'd have no quiet waking or ſleeping, through the conſtant hurries of a guilty Conſcience. Thence it was that his Face was pale, his Eyes were hollow, his Pace was uncertain, being ſometimes quick and again as ſlow; and, in ſhort, that a certain Wildneſs and Fury appear'd in his Viſage and whole Manner. As for the young Men he had ſeduc'd by the tempting Methods before mentioned, he taught 'em the whole Practice of Villany; us'd 'em for Forgeries, and falſe Evidence; and made 'em lay aſide all regard to their Words, their Fortunes, or to any thing that might happen to them. And after he had by this means bereft 'em both of Credit and Shame, he enjoyn'd 'em greater Wickedneſs yet. For executing which if no Reaſon or Opportunity offer'd at preſent, he would even way-lay, and murder the Innocent, as well as thoſe who had done him any Injury. For rather than ſuffer the Spirits or Hands of his Crew to ſoften or be out of uſe, he choſe to be wicked and barbarous for nothing.

Depending on ſuch Aſſociates as theſe, and knowing withal that there were every where Multitudes to be met with who were deep in Debt: And moreover, that many of *Sylla*'s Soldiers who had ſquander'd away their Gettings in Riot, but had not forgotten the ſweetneſs of Plunder, and the Gains they made by the late Succeſſes, wou'd be very glad of a Civil War: *Catiline* form'd a Deſign to ſeize and make himſelf Maſter of the Repub-

Republick. There was no Army at that time in *Italy* to defend it. *Pompey* was abſent making War againſt Nations very remote. *Catiline* himſelf expected the Conſulate. The Senate was aſleep, and dreamt of nothing, and all ſeem'd in a profound Security. This Poſture and Situation of Things ſerv'd to favour the intended Undertaking. And therefore about the Calends of *June*, *L. Caſar* and *C. Figulus* being then Conſuls, he began firſt to addreſs himſelf to every one of his Friends apart: To ſound the Diſpoſition of ſome; to offer inciting Arguments to others; to tell 'em his Strength, and the defenceleſs Condition which the Republick was then in; and in fine, to ſet forth the vaſt Advantages they ſhou'd all reap if the Enterpriſe ſucceeded. And when he had made what Diſcovery of their ſeveral Sentiments he thought fit, he appointed a Meeting of all ſuch of 'em as he knew to be moſt needy and puſhing. To this Meeting there came of the Senators *P. Lentulus Sura*, *P. Autronius*, *L. Caſſius Longinus*, *C. Cethegus*, *P.* and *Ser.* Sons of *Servius Sulla*, *L. Vargunteius*, *Q. Annius*, *M. Portius Lecca*, *L. Beſtia*, and *Q. Curius*. And of the Knights Order *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, *L. Statilius*, *P. Gabinius Capito*, and *C. Cornelius*; Together with ſeveral other Perſons that belong'd to the Colonies and * Enfranchis'd Towns, and who made the Figure of Nobility at home. Beſides theſe there were many others who abetted the Plot, but behind the Curtain; and were led more by the aſpiring Hopes of obtaining Dominion to promote the Thing, than driven into it by Neceſſity or Want. Moreover a great part of the Youth,

* Ex municipiis, *which I render* [Enfranchiſed Towns] *becauſe as they were govern'd by their own particular Laws, ſo the Inhabitants thereof were capable of enjoying or executing ſome of the Offices in the* Roman *State. See* Calvin's Lexicon. Jurid. Tit. Municip. & Munus, *&c.*

Youth, eſpecially who were Noble, favour'd the Deſign; and the Men who had it in their Power to be eaſy, and to live as great or luxurious as they pleas'd, choſe to exchange Peace for War, and to barter a Certainty for that which was doubtful. And laſtly there were ſome at that Juncture, who ſuſpected *M. Licinius Craſſus* himſelf to be no Stranger to the Conſpiracy; becauſe *Pompey* his great Enemy having then the Command of a formidable Army, they ſuppos'd he wou'd not be ill pleas'd with the Riſe of any Power to beard him. And perhaps too he might promiſe himſelf to be Head of the Party, if the Project ſucceeded.

But I think it proper to take notice that before this there had been a Conſpiracy entred into by ſome few Perſons, among whom *Catiline* was one. And I'll give you the beſt Account of it I can. During the Conſulate of *L. Tullus* and *M. Lepidus*, *P. Autronius* and *P. Sylla* the Conſuls Elect were found guilty on the Laws enacted againſt corrupt ſoliciting for Places, and ſuffer'd the Penalties. Shortly after which *Catiline* being accus'd of Bribery was put by in his Deſign of ſetting up for the Conſulate, becauſe he cou'd not by Law be admitted to give in his Name while his Proceſs was depending. At the ſame Juncture there was one *Piſo*, a young Nobleman, needy, factious, and of a daring Spirit: Who was ſpurr'd on by his neceſſitous Circumſtances, and the wickedneſs of his Nature to diſturb the Government. This Man, and *Catiline*, and *Autronius* enter'd about the Nones of *December* into a Conſultation together. The Reſult of which was, to aſſaſſinate in the Capitol the two Conſuls, *L. Cotta* and *L. Torquatus* on the then following Calends of *January*: And the latter of the three ſeizing the Faſces were to ſend away *Piſo* with an Army to take Poſſeſſion of the two *Spains*. But the Plot happening

happening to get Air, the Execution was put off till the Nones of *February*; at which time they reſolv'd not only on the death of the Conſuls, but of many of the Senators. And if *Catiline* had not been too haſty in giving the Signal to the Conſpirators near the Place the Senate was met in, that Day had been Witneſs to a Fact the moſt execrable that was ever committed ſince the founding of the Republick. But ſuch of the Aſſaſſines as were got together happ'ning to be not a ſufficient Body, the Deſign was thereby diſappointed. *Piſo* was afterwards by the Intereſt of *Craſſus*, who knew him to be a great Enemy of *Pompey's*, ſent Pro-Prætor to the hither *Spain*; tho' at that time he was only Quæſtor. Nor indeed was it with much reluctance that the Senate it ſelf beſtow'd the Province on him: Being glad of having ſo ill a Man remov'd as far from *Rome* as they cou'd. Beſides there were many ſenſible People that were willing to make uſe of him as a Balance; for the Power of *Pompey* was then dreaded. But in the way to his Province he was ſlain by a Party of *Spaniſh* Horſe, that march'd in the Army which he then led with him. Some ſay that the *Barbarians* cou'd not brook his haughty and tyrannical Orders; but others affirm that thoſe Horſemen were only ſome old Clients of *Pompey's*, from whom they had Directions to do what they did; and that the *Spaniards* had often been treated before this with Severity enough; yet had never committed any ſuch Fact. But I ſhall leave the Matter undetermin'd. And this may ſuffice for the former Conſpiracy.

As ſoon as *Catiline* ſaw that the Perſons before ſpoken of were come together, tho' he had often dealt with each of 'em apart, yet judging it proper on this Occaſion to beſpeak the whole Body at once, he retir'd to the privateſt part of the Houſe, and

and out of the hearing of all who might betray them, addreſs'd the Company in this manner.

" If I had not had ſufficient Experience before " now of your Courage and Faithfulneſs, I ſhou'd " not imagine that much wou'd come of the great " Hopes which I have entertain'd, and the Op- " portunity that is now in our Hands to make " our ſelves Maſters of the *Roman* State. Nor " ſhou'd I through Eaſineſs, or want of Judg- " ment, take for a certain or feaſible Thing that " wou'd otherwiſe be, perhaps, doubtful. But " becauſe I have more than once found you both " valiant and firm even in Junctures of Danger, " I have ventur'd with great Aſſurance to un- " dertake an Enterprize the greateſt and nobleſt " in the World. Moreover, I know that we all " agree in purſuing and ſhunning the ſame Things. " And what's the Band of a laſting Friendſhip but " ſuch a Conformity of Diſpoſitions? You have " every Man of you had my Deſign communica- " ted ſeparately to you already. And I cannot but " tell you, that my Spirit is quickned to it every " Day more and more upon thinking what a " Life we muſt lead if we do not fight our ſelves " into Liberty. For a few great ones having en- " groſs'd the Government into their own Hands, " Kings, Tetrarchs, Provinces and Countries muſt " pay Tribute to no body but them. And as for " other brave Fellows, Nobles and Commoners, " or whoever we be, we are all but inſignificant " Mob: Without the leaſt Authority or Intereſt; " and under the laſh of thoſe Men, to whom if the " Government were but put on a right Foot, we " ſhou'd rather be a Terror. All the Wealth, In- " tereſt and Preferments are with theſe Fellows, " or at their diſpoſal; and they have left us no- " thing but the goodly Portion of Repulſes, Dan- " gers, Puniſhments and Want. But how long " will you, the braveſt of Men, tamely ſuffer

" this

" this intolerable Uſage? Is it not better to die
" bravely, than continue the Scorn of other
" Mens Inſolence, and loſe our Lives at laſt with
" Diſgrace? Gods! But we have Victory in our
" Hands that wou'd ſave 'em; we have Youth,
" we have Strength, we have Courage on our
" ſide. But every thing with Them is as old and
" decrepit as their Riches, their Luxury and their
" Years can make it. We have nothing to do
" but to ſtrike the Stroke; the Undertaking will
" afterwards finiſh it ſelf. Who that has any
" Soul in him can endure that they ſhould have
" ſpare Money enough to build 'em Palaces in the
" Sea it ſelf, and to level Hills and Mountains
" for their Pleaſure, at the ſame time that we
" have hardly ſo much as Bread to put to our
" Heads? That they ſhould have choice of Seats
" for their Delight, and we ſcarce have a ſingle
" Houſe remaining to ſhelter our ſelves in? Your
" Pictures, your Statues, and your Rarities in
" Sculpture are all in the Hands of theſe Purchaſ-
" ers. They pluck ye down even Piles that are
" new, and ſet up others more ſtately in their
" room. In fine, they are ever raking up Mo-
" ney by all ways, and ever conſuming it. And
" yet their Treaſure is ſo vaſt, that with all their
" Extravagance they can never exhauſt it. But
" as for us, we have Poverty at home, and hun-
" gry Creditors abroad to devour us; deſperate
" Circumſtances, and more deſperate Expecta-
" tions. In ſhort, what is left us but our miſe-
" rable Breath? Ariſe then, and laſh up your Re-
" ſentment! view the Liberty, the tranſporting
" Liberty which you have ſo often ſigh'd after!
" View the Riches and the Honours that are be-
" fore you! they will all attend as Rewards of
" your Succeſs. Poverty, Danger, Opportunity,
" Circumſtances added to the Spoils of Victory,
" ſhou'd inflame you more than all the Harangues

" in

" in the World. For my own part you ſhall " have me your General, or no more than a pri- " vate Soldier, as you pleaſe. My Heart and my " Hand ſhall be inſeparably with you. And, in " fine, I have hopes I ſhall act as a Conſul in " Company with you in this Enterprize, if I am " not, perhaps, out in my Thoughts, and you " rather chuſe to continue Slaves, than hew out " a way to Empire with your Swords.

Catiline having ſpoke thus to the Company, whoſe Condition was every way bad; and who had no juſt Expectation of bettering it, tho' they cou'd not but think they ſhou'd find their Account in exciting Troubles in the Common-wealth, yet the greateſt part notwithſtanding deſir'd him to declare the Terms upon which they ſhou'd engage; whoſe Aſſiſtance they might reckon upon; and what Rewards ſhou'd attend their ſucceeding. *Catiline* upon this promis'd 'em a Spunge or Tables of Acquittal from all Debts; Proſcriptions of all ſuch as were wealthy; Poſts of Preferment both ſacred and civil; Plunder, and every thing that follows a Victory, and the uncontroulable Pleaſure of Conquerors. Moreover, he told 'em that *Piſo* and *P. Citius* the *Nucerian* were concern'd in the Undertaking. That the former was Maſter of hither *Spain*; and the latter then with an Army in *Mauritania*. That *C. Antonius* being a Candidate for the Conſulate, he had great Hopes he ſhou'd have him his Collegue; who was not only his moſt intimate Friend, but a Man very much intangled in Debt. And that as ſoon as he was choſen with him, he was reſolv'd to put his Deſign in Execution. Then he proceeded in moſt virulent Language to inveigh againſt all the Men of Integrity; to accoſt each of the Company by name: to cajole and extol 'em for brave Men; to put one in mind of his Wants; to joke with another about

about his whoring; to tell many of their Danger and Disgrace; and to inculcate the fortune of *Sylla* to all, who had made any Market in that War. When he saw they were all hearty for the Enterprize, he exhorted 'em only to be careful of his Interest with respect to the Consulate, and broke up the Meeting.

There were some at that time who reported that *Catiline*, after he had ended his Speech, and came to exact an Oath from the Conspirators, handed about Vessels of Wine mingled with human Blood: and that as soon as the Company had sworn and tasted of the Liquour all round, according to the manner at solemn Sacrifices, he unfolded to them the Plan of his Design; to the end that every Man of 'em being guilty of the same Privity and Concern in the Thing, it might make 'em the truer to each other. But some look'd upon all this, and a great deal more, to be only invented by them, who thought in a great measure to take off the Odium that *Cicero* had contracted on account of those, who had suffer'd for the Plot, by representing it with the most villanous Circumstances. For my own part, I cou'd never get such a satisfactory Account of the Matter, as one might have expected from the extraordinary Nature of it.

But to frustrate all Precautions whatsoever, one of the Persons that happen'd to be engag'd in this Conspiracy, as I have told you, was *Q. Curius*: a Man of Birth, but immers'd in Wickedness, and expell'd the Senate as scandalous by the Censors. He was made up of Vanity and Impudence; unable to hold what he knew of another, or so much as to cover his own Lewdness. In a word, he was one who had no regard to any thing that he either said or did. This Man for several Years had carry'd on a whoring Intrigue with one *Fulvia*, a Woman of Quality: And finding at length that

that her Reception of him was more cold than it us'd to be, becauſe he cou'd not be ſo lavish upon her, by means of the low reducing of his Fortune: All on a ſudden he began to boaſt and promiſe nothing but Seas and Mountains; then in a Paſſion to draw his Sword, and threaten to kill her if ſhe wou'd not comply to him; and, in fine, to hector and bounce at ſuch a rate as never before. *Fulvia* having ſifted out the Cauſe of all this ſwaggering Behaviour of *Curius*, reſolv'd not to ſmother a Matter that threaten'd ſo much Danger to the Publick; but, concealing her Author, reveal'd to ſeveral the Conſpiracy of *Catiline*, and all that ſhe had learn'd of it. This Diſcovery mov'd every one to ſtickle for *M. Cicero*'s being made Conſul. For before moſt of the Nobles diſdain'd him, and look'd on the Conſulate as prophan'd, in a manner, by ſtooping to one, who was but of yeſterday, tho' in all other Points an extraordinary Man. But as ſoon as Danger came to be in view, their Pride and Envy were poſtpon'd to their Safety. Whereupon convening the Courts for that purpoſe, *M. Cicero* and *C. Antonius* were declar'd Conſuls. This was the firſt Blow that was given to the Conſpirators and their Plot. However, the fierce Reſolution of *Catiline* was ſo far from being broken or cool'd that he daily beſtirr'd himſelf but the more; provided private Magazines of Arms in all the convenient Places of *Italy*; Took up conſiderable Sums of Money on his own Credit and that of his Friends, and ſent it to *Feſula* to one *Manlius*, who was afterwards the Man that began the Riſing. At the ſame time, 'tis ſaid, that he drew in great Numbers of all ſorts to join in the Conſpiracy: Among whom there were ſome Women, who had heretofore by lewd Proſtitution maintain'd a vaſt Expence and Prodigality. But Age at length having put an end to all their Perquiſites

fires of that kind, but none to their Extravagance; they had run themſelves very deeply in Debt. By the help of theſe *Catiline* propos'd to gain the Slaves and Rabble of the Town; to fire the City; and to prevail on their Huſbands to take part with him, or murder 'em for refuſing. The chief of this Number was *Sempronia*, who had often made her ſelf Author of Actions as bold as the hardieſt Men cou'd pretend to. She had all the Advantages of Birth and Beauty; and was very happy in a Huſband and Children. She was moreover a perfect Miſtreſs of the Greek as well as her own Tongue: She cou'd ſing, ſhe cou'd dance, and that more nicely than became a Woman of Reputation. She had all the Arts that miniſtred to Profuſion. Every thing had more Eſteem with her than Chaſtity; and 'twas hard to ſay which of the two ſhe was moſt lavish of, her Money or her Fame. She was ſo much carry'd away by Leachery, that ſhe oftner ſought the Men, than was ſought to. She had broke her Word a thouſand times over; forſworn Truſts; been guilty of Murder; ruin'd her ſelf by her prodigious Extravagance; and was turn'd Fury by reaſon of her Want. At the ſame time ſhe was not without a very entertaining Genius: She cou'd make Verſes; divert with Raillery; wheedle or banter as ſhe thought fit; talk modeſtly, or talk ſmutty: And, in fine, in every thing ſhe wrote or ſaid, there was a world of Humour and ſurprizing Wit.

Matters being carry'd thus far, *Catiline* notwithſtanding his late Repulſe ſtood for the Conſulate of the Year enſuing: hoping that if he had the Luck to be choſen, he ſhould manage *Antonius* as he thought fit. In the mean time he did not ſuffer his principal Deſign to ſtand ſtill; but laid all ſorts of Snares for *Cicero*; who was not wanting on the other hand in any Precaution or Cunning to defeat 'em. For all along from his Entrance on the Conſulate, by making great Promiſes to *Fulvia*, he had

wrought upon *Curius* to give an Account from time to time of *Catiline*'s Meaſures. He had likewiſe rid his Hands of *Antonius*, by aſſigning over to him his Province, to prevent his acting againſt the Publick. And then he had always a private Guard of Friends and Dependents about his Perſon. When the Day for chuſing Conſuls was come, and *Catiline* perceiv'd that neither his Petition for that Dignity, nor the Engines he had wrought with to deſtroy *Cicero* came to any thing, he reſolv'd on open War and Extremities. Upon which he order'd *C. Mallius* to *Faſulæ*, and the Parts of *Hetruria* confining thereupon; *C. Julius* to poſt away for *Apulia*; one *Septimius* a *Camertian* to the *Picene*; and ſeveral others to other places, where he thought each might be moſt ſerviceable. In the mean time *Catiline* carry'd on ſeveral Projects at once in *Rome*. One he had for killing the Conſul; and another for ſetting fire to the City. Moreover he took Meaſures for ſecuring all the moſt advantageous Poſts; went about continually arm'd; preſs'd his Confederates to be always ready; was ever buſied both Night and Day, without giving himſelf any Reſt; and yet untir'd with all his Fatigues. But finding all his Plots and Endeavours unſeconded and to no purpoſe, he again ſummon'd the Chiefs of the Conſpiracy, by *M. Porcius Lecca*, to a Meeting in the Night. Where, after complaining much of their Backwardneſs, he let 'em know he had diſpatch'd *Mallius* to put himſelf at the Head of the Forces that were then ready to take Arms; that he had ſent others to other Parts, which he thought convenienteſt to begin the Riſing in; and that he wou'd go himſelf to the Army, if he had but once taken off *Cicero*, who was the great Obſtacle of all his Meaſures. Whereupon *C. Cornelius* a *Roman* Knight, together with *L. Vargunteius* a Senator, (the reſt appearing fearful and irreſolute) promis'd him all the Aſſiſtance they cou'd give in it; and agreed to

to go without any Delay with an arm'd Retinue to *Cicero*'s Houſe, under pretence of making him a Viſit, and to take him unprepar'd and aſſaſſinate him. As ſoon as *Curius* underſtood the great and approaching Danger that threaten'd the Conſul, he gave him notice of it by *Fulvia*. Whereupon the Conſpirators were refus'd admittance into *Cicero*'s Houſe, and the Deſign was defeated.

In the mean time *Mallius* was extremely buſy in *Hetruria*, in exciting the Populace to take Arms; who pinch'd with Poverty, and enrag'd by Sufferings; having loſt the greateſt part of their Eſtates under the late Tyranny of *Sylla*, were fond of fiſhing in any Troubles. He moreover drew to him all the Banditti and Rogues of the Countrey, (which were very many) as alſo ſome old Soldiers of *Sylla*'s, who were ſettled in thoſe Parts by their Maſter; and whoſe Extravagance and diſſolute Living had ſpent 'em all their Plunder and Acquiſitions.

Cicero having receiv'd Intelligence of theſe Proceedings, was ſomewhat ſtartled at the view of a Miſchief ſo uncertain in its Conſequences; and finding that he cou'd no longer now by his own private Conduct or Strength ſecure the City againſt the Plotters; nor had as yet any certain Account of the Force or Number of *Mallius*'s Army, or what Deſigns he might have in hand; he laid the Matter before the Senate, tho' the ſame for ſome time before had been nois'd and talk'd of among the People. Thereupon the Senate, according to their way in all important and critical Conjunctures, reſolv'd that the Conſuls ſhou'd take upon them the abſolute Adminiſtration of the State, that it might not come into any Jeopardy. For the Conſtitution of the *Roman* Government authorizes the Senate in extraordinary Caſes to allow the Magiſtrate an extraordinary Power: as, to raiſe Armies; carry on Wars; exerciſe all manner of Juriſdiction over Allies as well as Citizens: And, in one word, to ma-

nage and direct all Affairs both at home and abroad. But otherwiſe no Conſul has Authority (unleſs by a ſpecial Commiſſion from the People) to act any thing in theſe Matters.

A few Days after this Tranſaction, *L. Senius* produc'd Letters in the Senate, which he told the Houſe were brought him from *Faſula:* Giving an Account that a numerous Rabble, headed by *C. Mallius*, had taken up Arms about the beginning of *November*. This preſently made ſeveral, as it commonly happens upon ſuch Occaſions, relate the Stories of frightful Prodigies and Apparitions that had lately been ſeen: And others talk'd of Conſults and Meetings; of Arms carry'd in Quantities to *Capua*; and of an Inſurection of Slaves in *Apulia*. Hereupon the Senate diſpatch'd *Q. Marcius Rex* to *Faſula*, and *Q. Metellus Creticus* to *Apulia* and its Neighbourhood. Theſe Generals at that time were detain'd without the Gates of the City, on a Stop put to their Triumphal Entry through the baſe Detraction of ſome mercenary Perſons, whoſe manner it was to make a Penny of all Honours, and of every thing elſe. At the ſame time the Prætors, *Q. Pompeius Ruſus* and *Q. Metellus Celer*, were ſent, the firſt to *Capua*, and the other to the *Picene*; with a Commiſſion to levy with all ſpeed ſuch Forces as the Juncture requir'd. A Proclamation was moreover publiſh'd, promiſing a Reward of Freedom and † 100000 Seſterces to any Slave, and a Pardon and two hundred thouſand to every Freeman that ſhou'd make any Diſcovery of the Plot, that was then on foot to ſubvert the Government. All the Families of the Gladiators were order'd to be ſent away, and diſpers'd in *Capua*, and the reſt of the Franchis'd Towns, according to the Ability of each Place: And Directions were given for ſtrict Guards under the Command of the inferior Magiſtrates, to be poſted all over

† *Computed by ſome to be* 500 *Piſtoles.*

over the City. Theſe Proceedings and Preparations of the Government, alter'd the Chear and Countenace of *Rome*; and in the midſt of riotous and wanton Jollity, the Effect of the long Peace they had enjoyed, on a ſudden the whole City was ſtruck into a Conſternation and Damp. All was Hurry, Terror and Confuſion. Every Man was jealous of his Fellow, and diſtruſtful of all Places he was in. The Town cou'd not properly be ſaid to be in a State of War or Peace: And every one was ready to make his own Fear the Meaſure of his Danger. At the ſame time the Women too, that, born under a victorious Empire, never us'd to be afraid of War, fell to terrify and bemoan themſelves; to ſpread their ſuppliant Hands to Heaven; to bewail the Fate of their tender Infants; to enquire News; to dread every thing; to lay their Pride and Pleaſures aſide; and to entertain the moſt melancholy Apprehenſions of their own Safety and that of the Publick. But the hard'ned Spirit of *Catiline* was reſolv'd to proceed in the Deſign he had undertaken, notwithſtanding all the Preparations to defeat it; and tho' he was likewiſe impeach'd upon the Law of *Plautius* by *L. Paulus*. Moreover he reſolutely went into the Senate-Houſe, to vindicate himſelf from the Charge that was againſt him, making a ſhew of being very much affronted that any body ſhou'd call his Innocence into queſtion: Whereupon *Cicero*, either afraid of the Influence of his Preſence, or incens'd at the ſight of him, made a very notable Speech for the Service of his Countrey, which he afterwards publiſh'd. But *Catiline*, who before-hand was prepar'd to act the part of a Diſſembler in the matter, after he had done, addreſs'd himſelf with a mighty Submiſſion and Flattery to the Fathers, "That they would not be too haſty in "believing any Reports in his Diſfavour; that he "came of a Family ſo deſerving, and that his De-"meanor had always been ſuch, that there was not

" any thing which he might not hope for; and " that they ought not to ſuppoſe that one of the " Patrician Rank, as himſelf was, and whoſe own " Services and thoſe of his Anceſtors had redound- " ed ſo much to the Advantage of the *Romans*, " cou'd ever come to be under a Neceſſity of de- " ſtroying their Government to make himſelf great, " at the ſame time that *M. Tullius*, who was a " Foreigner but the other Day, tho' a Citizen now, " diſcover'd ſo much Zeal for its Welfare. Upon his ſeconding this with farther Reflections, the whole Senate reſented his Behaviour, and cry'd out that he was a Firebrand and Parricide: Whereupon in a great Rage he declar'd, that ſince he found he was got among Enemies, and forc'd on Extremities to defend himſelf, he was reſolv'd to extinguiſh the Fire they had kindled with nothing leſs than the Ruin of his Adverſaries. Pronouncing this, he flung out of the Houſe, and went his way home: Where revolving a thouſand Matters in his Mind, the ill Succeſs of his Plot againſt the Conſul, and the Impoſſibility of firing the City, becauſe 'twas ſecur'd by ſuch watching and warding; and concluding the moſt adviſeable Courſe was immediately to augment the number of his Forces; and before any Legions cou'd be got ready, to make ſure of all ſuch Proviſions as might prove ſerviceable to him in the War, he ſet forward in the dead of Night with a ſmall Retinue for the Camp of *Mallius*; having firſt given Inſtructions to *Cethegus*, to *Lentulus*, and to others whom he knew the moſt puſhing, to carry on the Conſpiracy by all means in the World: To execute the Deſign againſt *Cicero*'s Life: and have every thing ready for a Fire, a Maſſacre, and the other Exploits of a bloody War; with a Promiſe that they ſhou'd ſoon ſee him with a great Army at the Gates of the City.

While theſe Matters were acting at *Rome*, *C. Mallius* diſpatch'd Agents with Inſtructions to be-

" ſpeak

ſpeak Q. *Marcius Rex* in this manner. " We call " both the Gods and Men, moſt Illuſtrious Gene- " ral! to witneſs for us, that we have not taken " up theſe Arms with any Hoſtile Intention againſt " our Countrey, or for the ſake of doing Miſchief " to any body: But only to reſcue our own Per- " ſons from that Oppreſſion and Want which they " are under: Our Perſons, I ſay, reduc'd to Miſe- " ry by the barbarous Treatment of unreaſonable " Uſurers. We are too many of us baniſh'd our " Countrey: and all of us robb'd of our Credit and " Fortunes; debarr'd the Benefit of thoſe Laws, " which our Forefathers have enjoy'd before us; " and after ſuffering the Loſs of our Patrimonies, " not permitted the Liberty of our Perſons: Such " has been the Cruelty of the Prætor and our Cre- " ditors. Our Anceſtors pitying the Neceſſities of " the People have often reliev'd 'em by Decrees " in their Favour. And but very lately within " Memory, in regard of the great Debts that were " owing, all the Uſurers were oblig'd by the Vote " of every honeſt Man, to accept Braſs inſtead of Sil- " ver in diſcharge of them. It has often too been " known that the Populace willing to have ſome " Authority themſelves, or not enduring the Loſ- " tineſs of their Magiſtrates, have taken up Arms, " and divided from the Fathers. But for us, 'tis " neither Empire nor Riches, the things which " commonly give a Birth to all the Contentions " of the World, that we aim at; no! 'tis Liberty, " 'tis only Liberty, which a brave Man can never " part with but at the ſame time that he parts with " Life. We conjure your ſelf and the Senate then, " to regard the Caſe of diſtreſſed Citizens; to re- " ſtore to us the Protection of the Laws, which " the Prætor's Injuſtice has taken from us; and not " to force us to the ſad Neceſſity of ſeeking out " ſuch Ways to periſh by, as may beſt revenge " our own Blood by a vaſt Effuſion of that of our " Perſecutors.

To this Q. *Marcius* return'd for Anſwer, " That if they had any thing to petition of the " Fathers, they would do well to lay down their " Arms, and repair in a ſupplicant manner to *Rome*. Adding, " That the *Roman* Government was always " ſo compaſſionate and generous to the Miſerable, " that none ever made Application to it in vain " for the Redreſs of their Grievances.

In the mean time *Catiline*, as he was on his way to the Camp, wrote Letters to ſeveral Perſons of conſular Dignity, and to all the chief Nobility in *Rome*, repreſenting " That he was falſly accus'd: " And not being able to maintain his Ground a- " gainſt the prevailing Faction of his Enemies, was " oblig'd to ſubmit himſelf to his Fortune, and was " going a voluntary Exile to *Maſſilia*; not becauſe " he knew himſelf guilty of ſuch Matters as were " laid to his Charge, but only to favour the Re- " poſe of the Publick, and prevent any Stirs upon " the Score of his Quarrel. But Q. *Catulus* produc'd Letters in the Senate, that were penn'd in a quite different Strain, and ſaid to be deliver'd him as coming from *Catiline*. An exact Copy whereof follows.

L. Catiline to Q. *Catulus* Greeting.

" Your extraordinary faithfulneſs to my Intereſt " (of which I have had ſufficient Experience, in " the moſt dangerous Junctures of my Life) as it " did extremely oblige me then, ſo it gives me " Confidence at this time to recommend my Affairs " to you. Wherefore I thought it not worth my " while to defend my ſelf in the late Senate. De- " ſigning, as conſcious of no Fault, to make an " Apology to you only, and ſuch a one as, I per- " ſuade my ſelf, you know and will agree to be a " juſt and a true one. Provok'd then by Aſperſi- " ons aud Injuries, being robb'd of the Fruit of " my Labour and Merit by loſing the Dignity for

" which

" which I was a Candidate, I have undertaken, as " was ever my Principle, to vindicate the common " Cauſe of the Oppreſs'd; not upon the Score of " my being in Debt: For I cou'd out of my own " Eſtate have ſatisfy'd every thing of my own " contracting, (and for Moneys rais'd for the uſe of " others, the Generoſity of *Aurelia Oreſtilla* cou'd " pay 'em out of her own and her Daughter's) but " becauſe I ſaw contemptible Fellows advanc'd to " Places of Truſt and Preferment, and my ſelf re- " puls'd upon groundleſs Surmiſes: For which Rea- " ſons I have taken ſuch Meaſures for preſerving " the little Remainder of my Dignity as, conſider- " ing my Circumſtances, are ſufficiently honoura- " ble. I was going to enlarge, when Intelligence " was brought me that my Enemies are making " Preparations for War. I conclude with com- " mending *Oreſtilla* to your Care: And beſeech " you by your Children, and every Thing that's " dear to you, to protect her from all Injury. " Adieu.

After *Catiline* had paſs'd ſome few Days with *C. Flaminius* in the *Reatine* Territory, to provide Arms for ſuch of the Rabble as were got together in that Neighbourhood, he march'd directly for the Camp of *Mallius* with the Faſces and Enſigns of ſupreme Power. An Account whereof coming to *Rome*, the Senate declar'd *Catiline* and *Mallius* both Rebels; but ſet a certain Day for their Followers, before which to lay down their Arms, and be all pardon'd, excepting ſuch as had been convicted of capital Offences: Gave Directions for a general Muſter, and reſolved that *Antonius* ſhould march immediately with a ſtrong Army in queſt of *Catiline*; and his Collegue *Cicero* remain at Home, to take Care of the Repoſe of the City.

I cannot forbear to take Notice that the *Roman* People at this Juncture ſeem'd to me to be in a ſad

and unhappy Caſe; who, notwithſtanding they receiv'd the Homage of a conquer'd World from the very Riſing to the Setting Sun, and enjoy'd an overflowing Tide of Wealth, Eaſe, and Proſperity at home, the greateſt Bleſſings which Mankind are generally thought capable of poſſeſſing, ſhould yet have at the ſame Time a Set of Villains among themſelves ſo obſtinately bent on their own Ruin, as well as that of the Commonwealth. For notwithſtanding the two Proclamations of the Senate, not a Man of the vaſt Number engaged with *Catiline*, was ever tempted by the promiſed Reward to diſcover the Plot; nor ſo much as one ſingle Perſon prevail'd upon to deſert his Camp. So ſtrong and obſtinate a Humour of Rebellion had diffus'd it ſelf like a mighty Plague through a great Part of the *Roman* Citizens. Nor were the Perſons concern'd with *Catiline* the only Men that were diſaffected, but indeed the whole Populace in general, extremely fond of a Revolution, wiſh'd well to the Deſign on Foot. In Truth, the Diſſatisfaction of the Rabble was no new unuſual Thing; for the needy People of all States envy the better Fortune of the Rich; extoll and ſide with the worſt of Men; and diſliking their preſent Government and Condition, deſire nothing ſo much as Change; hoping, without the Drudgery of Care, to get their Livings out of publick Troubles; or at leaſt to bring their Fortunes to a Market wherein Poverty has nothing to loſe. But many more Cauſes than one concurred to make the *Roman* Populace ſo prompt and ready to engage in Villany. For all the Raſcals about *Italy*, that were moſt noted for Wickedneſs and Debauchery; all they who had loſt their Patrimonies by profuſe Living, or what was worſe; and all, in fine, whoſe Offences had made their own Countrey too hot to hold 'em, flock'd to *Rome* as a common Sewer that receiv'd the Scum of the whole World. There were many beſides, who looking back

back on the late Succeſſes of *Sylla*'s Army, and taking Notice that of thoſe who once had been common Soldiers, ſome were now ſitting in the Senate-Houſe; and others flowing in ſo much Wealth and luxurious Plenty, that they lived like Princes; confidently hop'd by their Swords to cut out the ſame good Fortune for themſelves. And then, a great many young Fellows, that us'd formerly to earn their Bread by their own Labour in Countrey Huſbandry, led away by the luring Bait of private and publick Largeſſes in the City, preferred *Rome* and an idle Life to the ruſtick Drudgery of hard working. Theſe, and others of the ſame Stamp, liv'd upon the Troubles of the Commonwealth. And it can't well be accounted ſtrange that Fellows of ſuch abandon'd Morals, ſuch Needy Circumſtances, and vaſt Expectations, ſhould prove no better Friends to the Publick, than they were before to their own Intereſt. Again, ſuch whoſe Families had undergone Proſcriptions, or who had loſt their Eſtates or Privileges under the Uſurpation of *Sylla*, had the ſame Advantage accruing from War in their Hopes and View that the reſt had. And laſtly, all they in general of a different Faction from that of the Nobility, were for having the Government (at leaſt) ſhaken, rather than not be Maſters themſelves; the evil Spirit of Parties and Diſſentions, which had lain aſleep for ſeveral Years, reviving again at this Juncture: For after the Tribune's Power was reſtor'd by the Conſuls *C. Pompey* and *Marcus Craſſus*, young Gentlemen of great Spirits, and who had all the Heat of their Blood about 'em, having got the chief Authority in their Hands, began by inveighing againſt the Senate to put the common People in a Ferment; and by great Largeſſes, and greater Promiſes, endeavour'd ſtill to inflame 'em more: By which Methods they became formidable, and were cried up as the only Patriots. Againſt theſe a great Part of the Nobility (again) oppos'd themſelves

ſelves with their utmoſt Might, to ſupport their own Grandeur and Power; but under Colour at the ſame Time of maintaining only that of the Senate. For, to ſay all in a few Words, whoever offer'd to diſturb the Government of thoſe Days, always did it under ſpecious Pretences: Some profeſſing to ſtand up for the Liberties of the People, others to aſſert the Authority of the Fathers, and all to proſecute the publick Good; yet all deſign'd at the ſame Time no more, in Truth, than their own Greatneſs. Nor was there any Care taken to obſerve the leaſt Temper in the Diſpute; and the prevailing Party always carried it with a high Hand, and outrageous Inſolence. But after *C. Pompey* was ſent away to ſuppreſs the Pirates, and reduce *Mithridates*, the People's Party became low, and a few great ones had all the Power, engroſs'd every Office of Truſt, diſpos'd of Provinces and Honours at their Pleaſure, grew too big to be accountable, or to fear; aw'd the Tribunes with condemning Sentences, to prevent their raiſing the People's Fury; and, in ſhort, all Things ran o' their Side. But as ſoon as ever the leaſt Hope of a new Modelling preſented it ſelf, the old Contention reviv'd, and animated the Spirits of the Populace; ſo that if in the firſt Engagement *Catiline* had happen'd to come off Victor, or if he had made it a drawn Battel, vaſt Confuſion, and a mighty Bloodſhed muſt needs have follow'd in the Commonwealth. Nor would it have been, in all likelihood, in the Power of the Conquerors to have reap'd the Harveſt of their own Victory. But after they had ſpent or weaken'd themſelves, ſome Aſpirer, who had Strength enough to form a greater Party than the reſt, wou'd have wreſted from 'em their ſhort-liv'd Conqueſts, and introduc'd univerſal Slavery.

But there were ſeveral Perſons not concern'd at firſt in the Conſpiracy, who yet went to join *Catiline* as ſoon as the Inſurrection was begun; of which

which Number *Fulvius*, the Son of a Senator, was one; who was apprehended going to the Rebels, and after being brought back to the City, was put to Death by the Command of his Father. At the ſame Time *Lentulus* and his Emiſſaries, according to the Inſtructions receiv'd from *Catiline*, were buſy at *Rome* in engaging all that he thought, by reaſon of their vicious Morals, of reduced Fortunes, would be glad of Changes. Nor did he ſolicite Citizens only, but alſo People of all Nations, that were like to prove ſerviceable in the War. To which End he gave Directions to one *P. Umbrenus* to ſound and tamper with the Deputies of the *Allobroges*, and prevail upon them, if it was poſſible, to join with the Conſpirators in carrying on the War; flattering himſelf that a People embarraſſed with ſo many publick and private Debts, and of a Genius moreover ſo prompt to War, as the *Gauls* are, might eaſily be perſuaded to embrace Propoſals of that Kind. This *Umbrenus*, having traded into *Gaul*, was acquainted with moſt of the Chiefs of the Cities: Wherefore, without deferring the Affair, as ſoon as he ſaw the Deputies in the *Forum*, he accoſted 'em (firſt) with a few Queſtions about the State and Condition of their Countrey; and pretending to bewail the Grievances they were under, aſk'd 'em what Iſſue they expected to them: And when in Anſwer to this he found 'em to run out into Complaints of the Covetouſneſs of the *Roman* Magiſtrates, to inveigh againſt the Senate as a Body from which there was no Redreſs to be obtain'd, and to talk of Death as the only Thing that muſt terminate their Miſeries; "I, ſaid he, will "put you in a Way how to end your Calamities "quickly, if you will but act with the Courage of "Men. The Deputies awak'd by theſe Words to the ſoothing Hopes of getting Relief, fell preſently to beſeech *Umbrenus* to take Compaſſion of their ſad Condition, and to let him know that there

was no Enterprize ſo deſperate that they would not moſt readily undertake, if it might be a Means of reſcuing their Countrey from the vaſt Burthen of Debt that it was under. Thereupon he carry'd 'em to the Houſe of * *D. Brutus*, as next the *Forum*, and convenient for his Purpoſe, becauſe of *Sempronia*, who was ſo deep in the Deſign. Beſides, *Brutus* himſelf happen'd at that Time to be abſent from *Rome*. He alſo ſent for *Gabinius* to be preſent, to confirm and credit what he had to ſay. Being come, he unfolded to them the Conſpiracy, diſclos'd the Names of the chief Accomplices, and took the Liberty to mention ſeveral of all Qualities, that had no Concern in it, to give the Deputies the more Encouragement. After he had done, he receiv'd their Aſſurances of the *Gauls* engaging; and ſo they parted.

But the Deputies, when they came to conſider all Matters duly by themſelves, were a long Time in mighty Perplexity about what Meaſures they ſhould take. On the one Side there were preſſing Debts, a very ſtrong Inclination to War, and the Proſpect of great Advantages on ſucceeding. But then, on the other, there was more Strength, ſafer Conduct, and a certain Recompence in the Place of uncertain Expectations. Upon weighing thus, and agitating Things, the *Roman* Fortune at laſt prevail'd; and away they went to Q. *Fabius Sanga*, who acted as Patron of their Nation, and laid open the whole Conſpiracy, ſo far as it had come to their Knowledge. *Cicero*, inform'd by *Sanga* of the Matter, inſtructed the Deputies to make Profeſſion of engaging very heartily in the Plot; to give the ſeveral Conſpirators a Meeting; to hold 'em in Hand with fair Promiſes; and, laſt of all, to make it their Buſineſs to get

* *Husband, or ſome near Relation, as may be preſum'd, of* Sempronia.

get the Names of all who were concerned, and as full Proof as was poſſible againſt 'em.

While this was doing, there were ſome Commotions both in the Hither and Farther *Gaul*, in the *Picene* Territory, in *Brutium* and *Apulia*: For the Perſons *Catiline* had ſent thither acted all like Madmen or Fools; and by holding Clubs and Conſults in the Night, carrying Arms this Way and that, conſtant Hurry, and a mighty Pother, cauſed more of Alarm than Danger. Inſomuch that the Prætor, Q. *Metellus Celer*, coming to underſtand the Reaſon of their Motions, apprehended and clapp'd many of 'em in Irons. The like was done in the Hither *Gaul* by *C. Murena*, the Governor of that Province. In the mean Time, *Lentulus* at *Rome* with the reſt of the Ring-Leaders of the Plot having provided, as they thought, a ſufficient Force, reſolv'd that as ſoon as ever *Catiline* was advanc'd with his Army as far as *Faſula*, the Tribune *L. Beſtia* ſhould harangue the People, inveigh againſt the Proceedings of *Cicero*, and lay the Odium of the worſt and moſt unnatural War on the beſt of Conſuls: Upon that Signal, that the other Conſpirators ſhould all riſe on the following Night, and betake themſelves to their ſeveral Poſts, which were ſaid to be aſſign'd 'em in this Manner; *Statilius* and *Gabinius* with a numerous Body were to ſet Fire to twelve of the principal Places of the City at one Time, that the Tumult and Hurry which that muſt occaſion might give Opportunity to come at *Cicero*, and the reſt of thoſe who were deſign'd for Slaughter: *Cethegus* was to force his Houſe, and aſſaſſinate him; and the reſt were order'd to attack others: The young Gentlemen and Heirs among 'em (who moſtly conſiſted of the Nobility) were to cut the Throats of their own Fathers: And while the whole Town was in an Uproar and Conſternation with Fire and Sword, they were all to fight their Paſſage through the People, and make the beſt of their Way to *Catiline*.

In

In the Midſt of theſe Preparations and Reſolves, *Cethegus* often complain'd of the great Backwardneſs of his Fellows, who by Irreſolution, and putting off Matters from Day to Day, had ſlipp'd a great many fair Opportunities: Adding, that 'twas not now a Time to conſult, but to execute; and that if but a few would ſtand by him, tho' all the reſt were faint-hearted, he would go and force the Senate-Houſe himſelf. For he was naturally bold, puſhing, and impetuous, and thought there was nothing like Expedition in all Enterprizes.

The Deputies, according to *Cicero*'s Directions, met the Plotters, being introduc'd by *Gabinius*; and inſiſted to have the ſolemn Oath of *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, and *Caſſius*, to carry under Seal to their Principals, who would not otherwiſe be prevail'd upon to engage in an Enterprize of ſuch Importance. The firſt three ſuſpecting nothing, immediately gave it without boggling. And *Caſſius*, who was abſent, ſent 'em Word he would be with 'em ſpeedily; but inſtead of coming ſlipp'd out o' Town a little before the Departure of the Deputies. As to the latter, when they ſet out, *Lentulus* order'd *T. Volturcius*, a *Crotonian*, to accompany and introduce 'em to *Catiline*, to confirm the League by exchanging Articles before they went for their own Countrey. He likewiſe deliver'd him a Letter for *Catiline* in theſe Words, or to this Purpoſe.

" Who I am you will know by the Meſſenger
" that brings this. Weigh the vaſt Danger you are
" in, and remember you're a Man. Conſider
" what your Affairs do require, and get the Aſ-
" ſiſtance of all People, without neglecting the
" very meaneſt.

He moreover gave him verbal Inſtructions, to expoſtulate with *Catiline* for what Reaſon, after the Senate had declared him Rebel, he ſhould refuſe the Service

Service even of Slaves? And to let him know, that all Things at *Rome* were now ready according to his Directions; and that he ſhould not delay marching to the City.

Matters ſtanding in this Poſture, on the Night appointed for the *Gauls* Departure, *Cicero*, who had received an Account from 'em of all that had paſs'd, gave Orders to the Prætors, *L. Valerius Flaccus* and *C. Pomptinus*, to plant ſome Troops by the *Mulvian* Bridge, and intercept the *Allobroges* and their Train; acquainting them with the ſecret Meaning of the Service, and bidding 'em after they were got thither to act at Diſcretion, as they ſhou'd ſee Occaſion. Theſe Men, who underſtood the Buſineſs of Soldiers, in a Trice, without any Hurry or Diſorder, diſpos'd themſelves according to their Orders; and in cloſe Ambuſh beſet the Bridge. To which Place as ſoon as *Volturcius* and the Deputies were come, a Shout and Outcry was ſet up on both Sides. But the *Gauls* appriz'd before of the Deſign, ſurrender'd themſelves immediately to the Prætors. *Volturcius* at firſt encouraging his Company, made Reſiſtance with Sword in Hand; but finding himſelf abandon'd by the Deputies, fell preſently to making Terms, adjuring *Pomptinus*, with whom he was acquainted, to uſe all his Intereſt for ſaving him. And, in fine, fearing to loſe his Life by an Oppoſition to no Purpoſe, yielded himſelf to the Prætors at Diſcretion.

Having thus happily executed their Commiſſion, they diſpatch'd an Account of it immediately to *Cicero*, who was now ſeiz'd and agitated with the Paſſions of an extraordinary Joy and Concern at the ſame Time. Glad he was that the Commonwealth was ſo far deliver'd from its Danger by a full Detection of the Conſpiracy againſt it; but then he was in a great Perplexity what to do in ſo ticklish an Affair, wherein ſuch great Men wou'd be found to be guilty of the blackeſt Treaſon againſt their Countrey;

Countrey: For on the one Hand, he knew very well that by a Profecution he ſhou'd make himſelf Enemies; and on the other, to ſuffer 'em to go off with Impunity, might perhaps prove the Ruin of the Government. Upon which latter Conſideration, at laſt aſſuming Courage and Reſolution, he gave Orders for the ſummoning before him *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, and *Gabinius*, as alſo *Ceparius* the *Tarracinian*, who was juſt preparing to go for *Apulia*, to ſollicit an Inſurrection of the Slaves. The firſt Four inſtantly attended; but *Ceparius* ſlipping out of his Houſe a little before, had left the City upon ſome Notice that the Plot was diſcover'd. The Conſul taking *Lentulus* by the Hand, in regard he was Prætor at that Time, led him into the Senate himſelf. But the other Three he ſent under a Guard to the Temple of *Concord*; to which Place he conven'd the Fathers: And in a full Houſe commanded *Volturcius* and the *Gauliſh* Deputies to be brought in, and the Prætor *Flaccus* to produce the Pacquet of Letters he had taken from the ſaid Deputies. *Volturcius* being examin'd about the Deſign of his Journey and the Letters, fram'd at firſt prevaricating Stories, and endeavour'd to ſhift off the Buſineſs of the Plot: But at laſt, being urg'd to unfold the Truth, and aſſur'd of his Pardon by the publick Faith, he laid open the Bottom of the Contrivance: Adding, that himſelf had been drawn into it but a few Days before by *Gabinius* and *Ceparius*; but that he knew no farther Particulars of it than the Deputies did; only that he had often heard from *Gabinius* that *P. Autronius*, *Ser. Sulla*, *L. Varguntеius*, and a great many others, were engag'd in the Combination. The Deputies gave the ſame Account. But *Lentulus* notwithſtanding, when he came to be interrogated, diſſembling the whole Matter of the Charge; over and above the Evidence of the Letters, they prov'd the Thing corroboratively upon him by the following Speeches

which

which he was wont to give out: "That the Em-
" pire of *Rome* was aſſur'd by the prophetick Books
" of the *Sybils* to three *Cornelii*: That *Cinna* and
" *Sylla* had already made Good the Prediction;
" that he was the third for whom the Fates had
" reſerved the Dominion of the Republick: And
" furthermore, that the twentieth Year from the
" Burning of the Capitol was now arriv'd. Which,
according to the Southſayers, (grounding their Preſages upon ſeveral Prodigies,) was like to be remarkable for civil Confuſion, and extraordinary Bloodſhed. Whereupon, cauſing the Letters to be read, and the Plotters all owning their Signets, the Senate came to a Reſolution; That *Lentulus* ſhou'd be degraded from his Office, and with the other Criminals put into Cuſtody in the Hands of ſeveral Perſons of the Magiſtracy. Upon which, *Lentulus* was committed to *P. Lentulus Spinther*, who was *Ædile*, *Cethegus* to *Q. Cornificius*, *Statilius* to *C. Caſar*, *Gabinius* to *Craſſus*, and *Ceparius*, who happen'd to be taken in his Flight, and brought back but a little before, was deliver'd to the Keeping of *Cn. Terentius* the Senator.

The Populace, now the Conſpiracy was diſcover'd, tack'd about from their Deſires of Change, which had made 'em wiſh for an Inſurrection, and fell to curſing *Catiline* and his Plot; extoll'd the Conſul *Cicero* to the Skies, and were nothing elſe but Triumph and Joy, as a People reſcued from an imminent Slavery: For other Wars, as they apprehended, inſtead of proving prejudicial to them, would bring them great Advantages by Plunder; but they look'd upon firing of Cities to be barbarous, and the next Way to ruin themſelves; whoſe whole Eſtates conſiſted only of the Cloaths on their Backs, and ſome Houſhold Stuff that was every Day's Uſe.

The next Day one *L. Tarquinius*, who was ſaid to be taken going to *Catiline*, was brought before the

the Senate; and offering to make a Diſcovery of the Plot upon giving the publick Faith to indemnify him, and being thereupon encouraged by the Conſul, and commanded to declare all that he knew, he gave the ſame Account in a Manner as *Volturcius* had done, about the Deſign of firing the City, the maſſacring the chief Friends of the Government, and the marching of the Rebels towards the City: Adding, that he was ſent by *M. Craſſus*, to exhort *Catiline* not to be diſcouraged at the ſeizing of *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and the others; but the more to haſten his Approach to the City, both to reſcue them out of the Jeopardy they were in, and to revive the Spirits of the whole Party. As ſoon as *Tarquinius* had mention'd *Craſſus*, a Man of Figure and vaſt Riches, and of mighty Intereſt in the Commonwealth, ſome believ'd it an idle Story; but others ſuſpecting the Thing true, yet being of Opinion that they ought rather in ſo dangerous a Conjuncture as that was, to prevent the Reſentment of ſo formidable a Perſon by treating him tenderly, than to enrage or exaſperate him, join'd with the reſt, upon whom *Craſſus* had a Hank on the Score of their private Concerns with him, and cried out that the Witneſs was a Liar; demanding to have it put to the Queſtion. Whereupon 'twas reſolv'd by a great Majority, *Cicero* himſelf leading the Way, That they look'd on *Tarquinius*'s Evidence as falſe: For which they order'd him into cloſe Cuſtody, without Hopes of any Enlargement unleſs he would diſcover by whoſe Advice he was put upon framing ſuch a ſham Accuſation. There were ſome at that Time of Opinion, that this Impeachment was contriv'd by *P. Autronius*, to induce *Craſſus*, ſeeing he was named himſelf as an Accomplice, and involv'd in the ſame common Danger with the true Conſpirators, to protect them by his Intereſt. But others reported, that *Tarquinius* was ſuborn'd in the Matter by the Conſul, to prevent *Craſſus* from ſtanding up

up in the Defence of Villany, as he us'd to do, and thereby embroiling the Commonwealth. I confeſs I have heard *Craſſus* himſelf declare, that the Affront was of *Cicero*'s contriving: And yet 'tis certain that *Q. Catulus* and *C. Piſo* were not able at the ſame Time by any Importunities, Intereſt, or Bribes, to prevail upon *Cicero* to let *C. Caſar* be impeach'd falſly by the *Gauliſh* Deputies, or any Body elſe. You muſt know *Q. Catulus* and *C. Piſo* both were avow'd and mortal Enemies of *C. Caſar*: The latter, becauſe *Caſar* was his Proſecutor, when he once happen'd to be tried for Bribery about unjuſtly putting to Death a certain Inhabitant o't'other Side of the *Po*: And the firſt had harbour'd a Pique againſt him, for that *C. Caſar*, a young Novice, in the Competition for the chief Pontificate, had carried it from him in his Old Age, and after he had enjoy'd the higheſt Offices. And they look'd upon this as a fair Opportunity for bringing *Caſar* under Suſpicion; in regard that what by a moſt exceſſive Liberality in making private Preſents, and what in publick Gifts and Largeſſes, he had contracted many and vaſt Debts. But when they found that they were not able to perſuade the Conſul to ſuch a villanous Thing, they went themſelves from one Place to another, and by whiſpering Stories of divers Matters, pretended to come from *Volturcius* and the *Gauls*, drew a mighty Odium upon him: Inſomuch that ſome of the *Roman* Knights, who were ſet to guard the Temple of *Concord*, mov'd by the Conſideration of the Danger, or the Ficklenes of their Minds that were grown Loyal, and to aſſert their new Zeal for the Publick, flouriſhed their drawn Swords at *Caſar*, and threaten'd him as he came out of the Senate.

While the Houſe was buſy in the Matters I have mentioned, and voting Gratuities to the *Gauls* and *Volturcius* for the true and important Diſcovery they had made, *Lentulus*'s Clients and freed Men, taking different

different Roads out of *Rome*, went to the Villages to follicite the Slaves and handicraft Fellows to reſcue their Maſter; while others ſought out every where for the Ring-leaders or Captains of the Mob, who us'd to be hired to raiſe Diſturbances. *Cethegus* likewiſe diſpatched Meſſengers to his Family and freed Men, who were pick'd Fellows, and train'd up to deſperate Enterprizes, to beſeech 'em to form themſelves into a Body, and to force his Guard and deliver him from Confinement. The Conſul being inform'd of theſe Preparations for a Reſcue, ſet Guards as the Juncture of Time and Occaſion required. And convening the Senate, put the Queſtion, what ſhould be done with the Plotters in Cuſtody: For it had been reſolved but a little before by a full Houſe that they were guilty of the Conſpiracy. Upon this Motion *D. Junius Silanus*, who was firſt required to give his Opinion, in regard he was then Conſul elect, voted not only for the putting to Death of thoſe Perſons who were already in Cuſtody, but in like Manner of *L. Caſſius*, *P. Furius*, *P. Umbrenus*, and *Q. Annius*, if they ſhould happen to be taken. But being afterwards ſoften'd by *C. Cæſar*'s Harangue, he went into the Vote of *Tiberius Nero*, who declared for adjourning the Debate of the Matter, after having firſt ſtrengthen'd the Guards. Now when the Conſul came round to *C. Cæſar*, he ſpoke to the Queſtion in this Manner:

" It becomes all, moſt Illuſtrious Fathers! who " have Caſes before 'em for Debate and Judgment, " to diveſt themſelves of the ſeveral Paſſions of " Love, Hatred, Compaſſion, and Revenge: For " the Mind can hardly diſcern the Truth, when " theſe Affections ſtand in the Way. Nor has ever " the gratifying a daring Inclination been made to " conſiſt with the Good of the Publick at the ſame " Time. If we uſe a Freedom of Reaſon, our

" Reaſon

" Reaſon will ſerve us to good Purpoſe; but if " we ſuffer Paſſion to poſſeſs us, that will become " our Maſter, and ride us. 'Twere eaſy to give a " Detail from Hiſtory, that is thick ſown with Ex- " amples and Precedents of what Monarchs and " what People, under the Influence of a tender " Pity, or too warm Reſentment, have determin'd " unfortunately. But I chuſe to offer ſome con- " trary Inſtances, wherein our Anceſtors have " bravely acted in Oppoſition to their private Paſ- " ſions. In the War which we carried on againſt " *Perſes*, King of *Macedonia*, the City of *Rhodes*, " that was grown great by the ſole Favour and Aſ- " ſiſtance of the *Romans*, prov'd perfidious, and " turn'd our Enemy. And yet after the War was " concluded, and the *Rhodians* Ingratitude came to " be conſider'd, our generous Anceſtors, to prevent " the Calumny of their entring into War for the " Sake of Gain, rather than of doing themſelves " Juſtice, diſmiſs'd the *Rhodians* with an Act of Ob- " livion. Again, in the ſeveral *Punick* Wars, tho' " the *Carthaginians* even after a Peace, as alſo while " we had Treaties on Foot with them, were often " guilty of moſt villanous Practices; yet our An- " ceſtors never thought it became 'em to make uſe " of any Opportunity of retaliating the ſame Things " upon them; but were more concern'd for their " own Generoſity, than to take ſuch Meaſures as " they might have done in ſtrict Juſtice againſt a " treacherous Enemy. In like Manner, moſt Au- " guſt Fathers! it becomes you to be as much ſolli- " citous for the Preſervation of your own Honour, " as puniſhing the Villany of *Lentulus* and his Crew; " and to make it appear that you are not more in- " tent upon ſatisfying your own Reſentments, than " maintaining the Reputation of your Conduct. " For my own Part, if there's any Puniſhment can " be found out that may anſwer their Deſerts, I ſhall " vote for inflicting it, how new ſoever. But if

" the Treaſon be much too big for all the Severi-
" ties we ever can invent, 'tis my Opinion we ſhall
" do beſt to content our ſelves with ſuch Methods as
" the Laws in being may ſupply us with. Several
" Members, who have ſpoke before me, have
" thought it worth the while to entertain you with
" very pompous and paſſionate Orations on the
" ſad Condition of the Commonwealth. They've
" enumerated all the Calamities of War, and
" reckon'd up the Misfortunes of the conquer'd:
" Such as raviſhing of Youths and Virgins; tearing
" Infants from the Breaſts of their Mother; forcing
" Matrons to ſubmit themſelves to the brutal Plea-
" ſure of inſulting Soldiers; plundering and de-
" ſtroying Houſes and Temples; nothing to be
" ſeen but Fire and Sword: And in a Word, eve-
" ry Corner fill'd with Arms and Carcaſes, with
" Blood and Lamentation. But to what Purpoſe
" in the Gods Name is all this long and particular
" Harangue? Is it to kindle your Abhorrence of
" the Plot? Yes; for the Men whom the moſt out-
" rageous and abominable Enterprize cannot in-
" cenſe, muſt (forſooth) be fir'd by the Breath of
" a Speech! But alas! the Matter is quite other-
" wiſe; and none is ſo much his own Enemy as
" to think ſlightly of Ills intended him: So far
" from it, that moſt Men are but too ſenſible and
" apt to reſent. Moreover, all, moſt Honourable
" Fathers! have not the ſame Freedom in their
" Actions. Faults committed through Paſſion by
" thoſe who live obſcurely in a low Sphere arrive
" to the Notice of but very few; for the Fame
" and Fortunes of ſuch Men are moſt commonly
" of the ſame Extent. But the Acts of thoſe in a
" High Orb, and who hold the Sovereignty of
" States or Kingdoms are known and cenſur'd by
" the whole World; inſomuch that the moſt ſub-
" lime Station allows always the leaſt Liberty.
" There's ſcarce Permiſſion for Love or Hatred,
" but

" but none at all for Revenge or Fury. And that
" will paſs for a Piece of Haughtineſs and tyran-
" nick Cruelty in ſuch as govern, which only goes
" by the ſlight Name of a Fit of Anger in other
" Men. For my own Part, moſt Venerable Fathers!
" I think that all the Tortures in the Univerſe are
" too little for their execrable Treaſon. But pray
" conſider, 'tis the Way of moſt to remember on-
" ly the laſt Things: And no ſooner have any
" Malefactors ſuffer'd, but forgetting the Crimes
" for which they were condemn'd to't, they talk
" of nothing but the grievous Puniſhment, if it
" was but any Way ſeverer than ordinary. I am
" throughly ſatisfy'd that what *D. Silanus*, a Man
" of Honour and great Gallantry, has been pleas'd
" to offer to this Houſe, proceeded from true Af-
" fection to his Countrey: For I know ſo much of
" his Probity and Candor, as to reſt upon it, that
" he is not ſway'd by Favour or Prejudice in this
" high Debate. But ſtill I muſt take Leave to de-
" clare that his Vote, which I think not too hard at
" all, (for what Hardſhip can poſſibly be put upon
" ſuch Delinquents as are now before you?) is yet
" unprecedented by our Conſtitution. Sure *Silanus!*
" 'twas either Fear, or the Blackneſs of their Crime
" that prevail'd upon you to vote for inflicting a
" new Puniſhment. But the firſt I need not de-
" monſtrate groundleſs, when the Conduct and Di-
" ligence of our noble Conſul has provided ſuch
" good Guards for ſecuring us: And as to the Pu-
" niſhment propos'd for them, I could tell you that
" Death will be far from one; that inſtead thereof
" 'tis a Friend to Miſery; that it ends the Cares of
" Mortals for ever; and that beyond it there's nei-
" their Torment nor Joy. But for what Reaſon in
" the Gods Name, did you not make it a Part of
" your Sentence that the Priſoners ſhould be ſcourg'd
" before they were executed? Was it out of reſpect
" to the *Perſian* Law, that prohibits *Romans* to be

" ſo

" ſo us'd? If ſo, we have other Laws that exempt
" a convict Citizen from Death, and allow him
" the Benefit of being baniſh'd. But was it becauſe
" Whipping is a worſe Puniſhment than Death?
" But, I pray, what can be too ſevere to be in-
" flicted on ſuch as are found guilty of ſo foul a
" Conſpiracy againſt their Countrey? On the other
" Hand, if it was only becauſe you thought it a
" higher Puniſhment, how came you upon ſlighter
" Occaſions to be ſo careful that the Law be not
" ſtrain'd, and yet have no manner of Care to
" guard againſt it upon one of Importance? But
" you'll ſay, Who can ever preſume to find Fault
" with the ſtricteſt Sentence pronounc'd againſt
" ſuch a Crew of Parricides? I anſwer, Time may
" perhaps do it; and Fortune, the Governeſs of
" this World, may make you ſee and rue your
" Miſtake: For theſe Men, the ſevereſt Vote you
" can paſs againſt 'em can be nothing but Juſtice.
" But conſider, I pray, moſt Serene Father! of
" what Conſequence it may be to others. All the
" unwarrantable Actions in the World pretend to
" be grounded on ſome Precedents that were poſ-
" ſibly juſtifiable when they were made. And when
" the Government comes into the Hands of undi-
" ſtinguiſhing or arbitrary Men, the Precedent paſ-
" ſes from a juſt and diſcerning to that unqualified
" and lawleſs Adminiſtration. The *Lacedæmonians*
" having vanquiſh'd the *Athenians* appointed a Re-
" gency of thirty Tyrants to manage the Govern-
" ment of the Republick. Theſe Regents began
" at firſt to put to Death without any Trial, only
" the known Villains amongſt 'em, and ſuch as
" were hated by the whole City. Whereupon the
" People were highly pleas'd, and applauded the
" Juſtice of their Executions. But after the Ty-
" rants were a little flesh'd, they went on in a moſt
" arbitrary manner to butcher the beſt Men of the
" City, without Diſtinction of Good or Bad; and
" put

" put all under equal Terror: Inſomuch that the " Commonwealth was reduc'd to groan under the " moſt miſerable Bondage, and paid ſeverely for " their fooliſh Joy. But to go no farther than our " own Time: After *Sylla* had aſſum'd the Govern- " ment, and given Orders for putting to the Sword " *Damaſippus* and others of that Gang, who had " rais'd themſelves by the Troubles of the Publick, " who was there that did not cry up the Righteouſ- " neſs of the Fact? Such ſeditious and reſtleſs Fel- " lows, who were always embroiling the Common- " wealth, they declar'd were deſervedly put to " Death. But alas! this very proceeding prov'd a " Step to a bloody Maſſacre: For every one that " had but an Eye on the Houſe, Lands, or Effects " of another, went immediately to get him put in " the Liſt of the proſcrib'd. And the very Men " who rejoiced ſo much at the juſt Puniſhment " of *Damaſippus*, had the ill Fate but a While af- " ter to be dragg'd themſelves to the ſame Death. " Nor was there an End of cutting of Throats " till after *Sylla* had enrich'd his Crew with the " Spoils and Property of unhappy Men. I am " not under the leaſt Jealouſy of *M. Tullius*'s Pro- " ceedings, or the preſent Miniſtry; but in large " and populous Governments, like ours, there are " People of different Characters and Deſigns. And " 'tis very poſſible at another Time, and under " the Management of a new Conſul, who perhaps " too may be Maſter of an Army, the greateſt " Innocence may paſs for Treaſon. And when " in the View of this Precedent, and inveſted with " full Power by the Senate, ſuch a Conſul ſhall " have drawn the Sword, who ſhall moderate it? " Who ſhall command it? Our Anceſtors, moſt " Illuſtrious Fathers! never wanted either Coun- " cil or Courage: And yet their Pride was never " ſo great as to keep 'em from following the Cu- " ſtoms of Foreigners, when they found 'em wor-

" thy to be put in Practice: They derived the " Uſe of ſeveral Weapons of War from the *Sam-* " *nites*: They borrow'd a great Part of their En- " ſigns of Power from the *Tuſcans*. In fine, they " adopted and put in Execution whatever they " ſaw uſeful or remarkable among their Allies, " or Enemies themſelves; and choſe rather to " imitate than envy all whom they found to be " Praiſe worthy. Purſuant to which Practice of " Imitation they obſerv'd for a While that Law of " the *Grecians* for inflicting Stripes on Citizens " themſelves, and adjudging Death to capital Of- " fenders. But after the State was become popu- " lous, and the Number of Citizens begat Fa- " ctions, it prov'd the Occaſion of great Inconve- " niences, and oftentimes of ſpilling the Blood, " or ſeverely puniſhing of innocent People. The " preventing of which gave Riſe to the *Porcian* " Statute, and the other Laws that allow'd of Ba- " niſhment for the higheſt Crimes. Now I take " it that this Example of Caution in our Forefa- " thers is of great Weight to diſſuade us from " making a new Precedent: For ſurely the Wiſ- " dom and Conduct of ſuch as rais'd the Repub- " lick to ſo much Greatneſs from the moſt hum- " ble and difficult Circumſtances was beyond any " that we can pretend to, who ſcarce are able to " preſerve the Dominion which they had the Glo- " ry to acquire from nothing. You will aſk me " then, Is it my Opinion that theſe Malefactors " ſhould be ſet at Liberty, to add to the Number " of *Catiline*'s Army? No, I am not for any ſuch " Thing: But I think that the prudenteſt Courſe " may be this; To confiſcate and ſet to Sale their " Eſtates, and confine their Perſons in cloſe Cu- " ſtody in ſuch of the franchiſed Towns as are " ſtrongeſt or moſt reſponſible for their forth- " coming; and to enjoin that none hereafter ſhall " preſume to ſollicite either Senate or People in

" the

" the Matter, under the Penalty of being ad-
" judg'd to have acted againſt the Peace of the
" Publick.

After *Cæſar* had concluded his Speech, the reſt that follow'd declared their Concurrence, ſome by one Way, and ſome by another, with ſuch Votes as they ſeverally approv'd of. But when *Cato* was demanded his Senſe, he deliver'd it in ſuch Words as enſue:

" I muſt be of a quite different Opinion, moſt
" Illuſtrious Fathers! from what has been ſaid,
" when I think of the dangerous Juncture we are
" in, and conſider withal the ſurprizing Diſcourſes
" of ſome Members who have ſpoken before me.
" They would make the only Queſtion to be, in
" what Manner you will puniſh Villains, who
" have enter'd into a bloody Deſign againſt their
" Parents, their Countrey, and our All. When,
" alas! the preſent Poſture of Things preſſes us
" rather to take Meaſures againſt the Succeeding
" of this Conſpiracy, than to conſult only how we
" ſhall puniſh the Authors. We have Time enough
" to animadvert upon other Offences after they're
" committed: But this Deſign is of ſuch a Nature,
" that unleſs we cruſh it in the firſt Place, 'twill
" be too late to debate about Puniſhments; nor
" ſhould we have any Thing left to help us, ſhould
" they make themſelves but Maſters of the City.
" In the Name then of the immortal Gods, I now
" call upon you, O Fathers! who have ever prefer-
" red our Villa's, your Statues, and your Pictures,
" to the Good of the Commonwealth, if you de-
" ſire to continue Owners of theſe Valuables, ſuch
" as they are, if to purſue your Pleaſures ſecurely,
" awake at laſt, and reſcue the Republick. 'Tis
" not petty Tribute or Taxes; 'tis not Injuries done
" or receiv'd by any Ally that we are now upon:

" 'Tis Life, 'tis Liberty, 'tis All that is at Stake.
" I have often ſpoke, moſt Illuſtrious Fathers! be-
" fore now in this honourable Houſe; I have of-
" ten taken the Freedom to complain of the Luxu-
" ry and Avarice that prevail amongſt us. By do-
" ing which I have drawn on my ſelf the ill Will
" of a great many Citizens. But I, who have ne-
" ver given Quarter to any Miſdemeanors in my
" ſelf, could ill brook the Vices of others. And
" though you made but little Account of all my
" Remonſtrances on that Head, yet the Republick
" continued firm, and maintain'd it ſelf by its own
" Greatneſs in ſpite of all the Negligence of its
" Members. But the Queſtion at this Time is not
" whether our Manners ſhall be good or bad; nor
" to what a Pitch of Glory or Power the *Roman*
" Empire ſhall be carried by us; but whether the
" Things we are now Maſters of ſhall be longer
" ours, or a Prey to Parricides: And ſhall any
" Man once offer to mention ſuch a Thing as Cle-
" mency at this Time of Day? But I find we have
" long ſince loſt the true Names and Appellations
" of Things: To give away other Mens Goods
" or Eſtates is (forſooth) Generoſity in this Age:
" And to ſuch a Degree of Corruption are we
" fallen! that to be daring in Villany, is now to
" be gallant. Well! ſince their Diſpoſition is ſuch,
" let 'em laviſh away the Eſtates of their Friends,
" let 'em alſo give up your Treaſury to be pil-
" lag'd; but then let 'em never diſpoſe of our
" Blood; and while they appear ſo extremely zea-
" lous for ſaving the Lives of a few Villains, let
" us not ſuffer 'em to obtain their End by the
" Deſtruction of all honeſt Men. *C. Cæſar* has
" juſt now been haranguing you very philoſophi-
" cally upon Life and Death; looking, I perceive,
" upon all as a Sham that is told us concerning the
" Being of a Hell, where the Wicked, at a great
" Diſtance from the Good, are ſhut up everlaſt-

" ing

" ing Priſoners in the moſt diſconſolate and dolo-
" rous Manſions. And he's therefore for ſeizing
" and ſelling their Eſtates, and confining their
" Perſons in the franchiſed Towns, for fear, you
" muſt know, that their remaining in *Rome* may
" give Opportunity to their own Party or a hir'd
" Mob in the City to reſcue 'em: As if *Rome* were
" the only Place for Rogues, and there were not
" enough of 'em through all *Italy*: Or as if the
" Attempts of a daring Crew were not likely to be
" moſt prevailing, where there is the leaſt Strength
" to oppoſe 'em. This is then moſt impertinent
" Advice, if he looks upon the Priſoners as dan-
" gerous People: But if in this general and juſt
" Conſternation he is the only Man that's ſecure
" and unapprehenſive of any Peril, it concerns
" me, moſt Illuſtrious Fathers! to look the better
" to my ſelf and you. Be aſſur'd that at the ſame
" Time you determine the Fate of *P. Lentulus*
" and his Fellow Priſoners, you decide that of
" *Catiline*'s Army, and of all the Conſpirators in
" this Plot. The briſker you are in your Re-
" ſolutions, the greater Diſcouragement will you
" give to your Enemies: But if once they ſee you
" but faint-hearted, or baulking the Vigour which
" you ought to exert, you will find 'em all to
" come on like Lions. Never think 'twas by
" Force of Arms that our Forefathers advanced
" the Republick from a low Condition to its After-
" greatneſs: Had that been ſo, we ſhould have it
" by Conſequence at the Top of Grandeur at this
" Time: For now in Alliances, in Number of
" People, and in Magazines and Proviſions of War,
" we are infinitely ſtronger and better furniſhed
" than ever our Anceſtors could pretend to be.
" No, they were Things of a different Nature that
" made our Predeceſſors ſo formidable, and which
" have not deſcended to us their Poſterity; the
" Virtues of Induſtry, Diſcipline, and Juſtice in all

" their Affairs both at home and abroad, and a " brave and disinterested Spirit in Council, with- " out being subject to favour a Villany from a Con- " sciousness of being Accomplices in the Guilt of " it, and yet without being govern'd by Passion. " For these Qualities, we have Luxury and Ava- " rice, we have publick Want and private Abun- " dance; we admire Riches, indulge to Laziness, " put no Distinction in the World between a Man " of Worth and a Rascal, and make all the Re- " wards of Virtue become the Possession and Re- " compence of Ambition. But this need not be " much wonder'd at, when you all consult your " separate Interests, live at home in Slavery to " your Lusts, and are govern'd here by Money or " Favour. And thence it is that a Knot of Bra- " voes, the Commonwealth being thus deserted, " are emboldened to make their Attempts upon " her. But to dwell no longer on these Things, " the Affair before us is shortly this; Some of the " greatest Citizens amongst us have contriv'd the " Destruction of their own Country; and to back " their Design have dealt with the *Gauls*, the most " implacable Enemies of the *Romans*, to revolt, and " once more take up their Arms; while the Arch- " conspirator with an Army of Rebels is advanc'd " almost to our very Throats. And is this a Time " to dally or debate how you shall deal with a " Crew of Cut-throats you have taken within your " own Walls? But I think I had best advise you to " pity 'em: They are young Men, whose Offence " has proceeded only from a little Fit of Ambi- " tion; and therefore you may e'en think it con- " venient to give 'em their Swords again, and dis- " miss 'em. But assure your selves, this ridiculous " Mercy, if they once come but to feel their Wea- " pons, will be quickly repaid you with Ruin and " Repentance. We are at this Time in the Midst " of the dangerousest Circumstances in the whole

" World:

" World: But perhaps you are not afraid at all!
" Yes, but you are, and to the laſt Degree! But
" through a daſtardly Softneſs or Lazineſs of Spi-
" rit ſit looking one upon another, expecting who
" ſhould beſtir himſelf firſt: Or you lift up your
" Eyes to the immortal Gods, depending (forſooth)
" upon Aſſiſtance from thoſe who have ſo often deli-
" ver'd your Republick from the greateſt of Straits.
" But alas! the Help of the immortal Gods is not
" to be fetch'd down by Wiſhes or womaniſh Sup-
" plications. No! 'tis Vigilance that begets Deli-
" verance: 'Tis reſolving wiſely, and acting cou-
" rageouſly, by which every Thing goes well.
" But if you abandon to Sloth or Cowardice, ne-
" ver have the Face to invoke the Gods; for they'll
" be affronted, and become your Enemies. In the
" Days our Anceſtors, *A. Manlius Torquatus* paſs'd
" a Sentence on his own Son for fighting an Ene-
" my againſt Orders; and that extraordinary young
" Man was puniſhed with Death for no other Of-
" fence than exerting a Courage too forward and
" impatient. And can *you* loſe Time in delibe-
" rating what to do with the moſt barbarous Par-
" ricides? Yes! for the Innocence of their Lives
" before may be weigh'd againſt the preſent Of-
" fence. Agreed then: And by all Means treat
" with Regard the Dignity of *Lentulus*, if he him-
" ſelf has ever had any to his own Reputation, his
" own Chaſtity; if he has ever valued the Gods
" or Men: And pardon the raſh Youth of *Cethegus*,
" if this be not the ſecond Time he has engaged
" in Rebellion againſt his Countrey. What need I
" proceed to any Remarks on the Conduct of *Ga-
" binius*, *Statilius*, and *Ceparius*, who had never
" embark'd in ſo execrable a Deſign, if they had
" had any Senſe of, or Reſpect to any Thing?
" But to ſpare my Breath, moſt Illuſtrious Fathers!
" If the Execution of this Conſpiracy were not
" to be followed with the fatalleſt Conſequences,

" you ſhou'd buy your Conviction from the Expe-
" rience of Things, becauſe you have ſo little a
" Deference for Words. But we are now ſur-
" rounded on all ſides. *Catiline* at the Head of an
" Army from without is advancing towards our
" very Throats. And others we have within our
" Walls, and in our own Boſoms, who are ready
" to diſpatch us. Not a ſecret Reſolution can be
" taken: No private Preparations can be made:
" And therefore we ought to be the more ſpeedy.
" 'Tis my Opinion in ſhort then, that ſince by the
" deteſtable Plottings of Villains the Publick is
" brought into ſo much Jeopardy; and theſe Men
" upon the Evidence of *T. Volturcius* and the *Gauliſh* Deputies have been found guilty of a wicked
" Deſign (which they have own'd in a manner) to
" burn, maſſacre, ravage and deſtroy their own
" Countrey and Fellow Cittizens, a Capital Pu-
" niſhment ought, according to the way of our An-
" ceſtors, to be inflicted upon 'em, as Ruffians con-
" victed of the moſt capital Crime.

No ſooner had *Cato* ended his Speech, but all the Conſular Members in the Houſe, and a great part of the Senate beſides highly applauded the Vigor of his Vote; extolling his Virtue and Bravery to the Skies, but upbraiding their Fellows with Puſillanimity. In a word, *Cato* was the only Man with 'em for a Hero, a Patriot, and a gallant *Roman*: and a Decree was made according to his Sentence. And here you muſt give me leave to acquaint you, that being a Man who had read much, and moreover heard a world of things of the vaſt Atchievements of the *Roman* People, in War and Peace, and by Sea and Land; I was very deſirous to find out what it was that laid the Foundation, and ſupported the Greatneſs of ſuch Performances. I well knew that they had often fought and baffled mighty Armies of Enemies with a very ſcanty Number of Forces:

Forces: I knew, with the like Company of Men, and a very inconſiderable Treaſure, they had carry'd on a ſucceſsful War againſt the wealthieſt and moſt powerful Princes; then, that they had oftentimes experienc'd the violent Shocks of an adverſe Fortune, and yet always kept up their Heads; and laſt of all, I was yet ſenſible that the *Gauls* were better Soldiers than the *Romans*, and that the *Greeks* ſurpaſs'd 'em in Wit and Eloquence. And after ſeveral Thoughts and Reſearches, I perceiv'd at laſt it was all owing to the great Conduct of a few Perſons of tranſcendent Virtue; whoſe wonderful Diſcipline made Poverty triumph over Riches, and a handful of Men to be too many for thouſands. But at length came in the miſchievous Vices of Luxury and Sloth to debauch the Republick; in ſpite of which the Empire, 'tis true, ſupported it ſelf and all the Corruptions of its Magiſtrates and Commanders, by the mere Force of its own Greatneſs; but then, like a Mother that's paſt bearing, the City of *Rome*, for Ages together, had not Vigor enough left to produce any one great Man. Yet within the Compaſs of my Time there have been, after ſo long an Interval, two of moſt extraordinary Virtues, yet different Characters, *M. Cato* and *C. Caſar*. Now becauſe the Occaſion is ſo fair, I am very unwilling to baulk it by Silence, and ſhall here therefore addreſs my ſelf to deſcribe the Genius and Manners of both, with all the juſtneſs I am capable of.

To begin then: Their Deſcent, their Years, and their Eloquence were pretty near an equality; they had alſo the ſame Greatneſs of Mind, and made the like Acquiſitions in Glory: But then the way which they trac'd it in, and obtain'd the Poſſeſſion, was entirely different. *Caſar* render'd himſelf famous by a vaſt Munificence and generous Bounty; *Cato* made himſelf as eſteem'd by a moſt unblemiſh'd Integrity of Life. *Caſar* recommended himſelf by a

Condeſcenſion and Clemency of Temper; *Cato* became as much rever'd for the ſtrict Severity of his Diſpoſition. One by conferring, by aſſiſting, by pardoning, attracted an univerſal Reſpect; and the other acquired the ſame Reputation, by abſtaining from all Bribes and Largeſſes. In *Cæſar* the Wretched had always a Sanctuary; in *Cato* the Wicked met with a Scourge. The firſt allured to himſelf Approbation by a moſt obliging eaſineſs of Nature; and the latter commanded an equal Renown by a moſt immoveable conſtancy of Spirit. *Cæſar* in fine, by his Reſolution and continual Practice was for Labour and Watchings: All his own Affairs were neglected, and he minded entirely the Intereſt of his Friends. He deny'd, moreover, nothing to any that was in his Power to beſtow upon 'em, and worth the Acceptance of the Man he oblig'd: He always wiſh'd for a new War; thirſted impatiently after a Command; and long'd to be at the Head of an Army for an Opportunity to diſtinguiſh his Valour, and exert his Abilities to the utmoſt Advantage. But as for *Cato* on the other hand, his Aim was to be contented, to be juſt, and above all things to be inexorable to Vice. He never contended with the Wealthy in Riches, nor vy'd with the Factious to make himſelf uppermoſt; but then with a virtuous and noble Emulation, he diſputed for Bravery with the moſt Valiant: He rivall'd the Chaſteſt in matter of Modeſty; and ſtrove to outdo the moſt Moderate in Self-denyal: In a word, he was more concern'd for the Subſtance than the bare Reputation or Semblance of Virtue. But the leſs fond he appear'd of Glory, the more did ſhe follow and force her ſelf upon him.

As ſoon as the Houſe had paſs'd a Decree according to the forementioned Vote of *Cato*'s, the Conſul thinking it moſt adviſable to uſe his time before Night came on, for fear that ſome Contrivance or another

another might be ſet o' foot in the mean while to hinder the Effect of their Reſolution, iſſu'd his Warrant to the Capital Triumvirs, to get all things ready immediately for executing the Plotters. *Cicero* himſelf, after poſting the Guards, conducted *Lentulus* to the common Priſon: And the others were ſeverally led by the Prætors. In the Gaol, on a little Deſcent to the Left, and about ſome twelve Foot under Ground, is a Place that's call'd * *Tullianum*, or the Dungeon; which is wall'd in on every ſide, ſecur'd by an Arch of Stone over head, and perfectly dark, noiſome and frightful; into which *Lentulus* being put down, the Lictors, according to their Orders ſtrangled him. Thus fell that great Patrician, deſcended of the illuſtrious Family of the *Cornelii*, after having had the Honour to enjoy the Office of Conſul in the *Roman* State: And by ſo falling, met with a Death that was due to the execrable Deeds of his Life. In the ſame manner were alſo diſpatch'd *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, *Gabinius*, and *Ceparius*.

During theſe Tranſactions at *Rome*, *Catiline* out of the Forces rais'd by himſelf, and by *Mallius*, made it his Buſineſs to form an Army of two Legions: filling up the Cohorts that compos'd 'em as far as the Numbers he had wou'd reach to. And then as any of his own Friends, or other Voluntiers did come in to him, he diſpers'd 'em equally through each Cohort. By which means in a little time he ſaw both his Legions compleat; whereas at his firſt taking the Field, he had not above two thouſand Men. But of theſe no more than a fourth part were furniſh'd with the regular Weapons of Soldiers. The reſt, as with what came next to hand, were arm'd only with Javelins, Pitchforks, or Stakes pointed and harden'd at the end. But as ſoon as *Antonius* approach'd with his Army, *Catiline* made his Marches by the Hills, advanc'd ſometimes towards the City, and anon di-

* From K. Tullus, *who is ſaid to have added it to the Priſon.*

rected his Motions for *Gaul*, carefully ſhunning all Opportunities of being oblig'd to come to a Battel, becauſe he expected in a few Days to receive conſiderable Re-inforcements, in caſe his Confederates ſucceeded at *Rome*. In the mean time he refus'd to receive into Service any Vaſſals, who came flocking in prodigious Numbers at his firſt Riſing; depending on the Strength of his own Party and judging it diſadvantageous to his Cauſe to mingle the Grievances of fugitive Slaves, with the Buſineſs and the Intereſt of free Citizens.

But when the News arriv'd in the Camp of the Plot's being diſcover'd at *Rome*, and that *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and the other Accomplices before-mention'd were put to death, ſuch as only the Hopes of Plunder, or deſire of Change had drawn into the War, drop'd away in conſiderable Numbers. *Catiline* with the reſt retiring by long and difficult Marches over rough Mountains, got into the Countrey of the *Piſtorienſes*; deſigning to ſteal from thence privately through croſs Paſſes into hither *Gaul*. But *Q. Metellus Celer*, who then lay with three Legions in the *Picene* Territory, rightly gueſſing before hand at *Catiline*'s Intentions from the Diſtreſs of his Affairs, on the firſt News of his March by Deſerters, broke up his Camp in great haſte, and poſted himſelf at the Foot of the Mountains, by which *Catiline* was oblig'd to deſcend in his Entrance into *Gaul*. At the ſame time *Antonius* with his Army was not very far ſhort of his Rear, having follow'd the Rebels Retreat thro' ways that were more level and commodious for marching. When *Catiline* ſaw himſelf thus enclos'd by Hills and Enemies on all ſides, that Affairs ran ſo counter in the City, and that there was no poſſibility of Flight, nor any Garriſon to retire to, he thought it adviſable to hazard all. Whereupon without any more delay, reſolving to have one Bruſh with *Antonius*, he plac'd himſelf at the head of the Army, and harangu'd his Soldiers in this manner.

"I have

" I have found by Experience, my Fellow Soldiers, that the timorous Spirit of a true Poltron " is not to be made valiant by Words: nor a Coward-Army to be fir'd with Bravery by the warmeſt Breath of a General's Oration But according " as every Man's Nature, or a generous Diſcipline " has infus'd into him, ſo much Courage and no " more will be made appear in the Day of Battel; " 'Tis Labour loſt to addreſs to ſuch as won't be " inflam'd by the Thoughts of Glory, nor yet rouz'd " by their own Danger. For the very Conſternation of their Minds ſtops their Ears againſt all that " one can ſay. Nevertheleſs I have thought it convenient not only to offer a few things, but to give " you moreover the true Reaſon of that Reſolution " I have now taken. You all know, my undaunted Soldiers, what a Misfortune the backwardneſs " of *Lentulus* has brought on himſelf and on us too; " and how by ſpinning out Time here in expecting " Reinforcements from *Rome*, our intended March " into *Gaul* is cut off. You are likewiſe as ſenſible " too as my ſelf of the State our Affairs are now " in. We have two Armies that preſs us at once; " one from the City, and another from *Gaul*. Want " of Proviſions and other Neceſſaries will not permit us to remain any longer in theſe Parts, were " we ever ſo willing. And which way ſoever we " are minded to go, we muſt hew out our Paſſage " with our Swords in our Hands. I beſeech you " then to awaken your Vigor; to rouſe up the utmoſt Reſolution of Men, and remember whenever you fall on, that in theſe Hands you carry " your Glory, your Riches, your Honour, your " Liberty, and your All. If we are Conquerors, " we may reckon on every thing: Plenty of Subſiſtence, municipal Towns, and Colonies will all " be at our Devotion. But if we are baffled thro' " a daſtardly Cowardice, we muſt look to have all " the World for Enemies, and no where a Shelter

" or

" or Protection for thoſe, who cou'd not inſure it
" to themſelves by their Arms. Let me add, that
" our Enemies are not urg'd by the ſame preſſing
" Neceſſities with us. 'Tis for Life, 'tis for Liber-
" ty that we are to fight; 'tis to reſcue our Coun-
" trey from the Hands of Uſurpers. But their's is
" only a ridiculous Zeal to prop up the Power of
" an over-grown few. From the Conſideration of
" which Motives, and chaf'd with the Memory
" of your former Exploits, you ought to be ſo
" much the more puſhing. 'Twas in your Power
" to have led a diſgraceful and miſerable Life in
" perpetual Exile. 'Twas at the Election of ſome
" of you alſo, having loſt your Eſtates, to have
" continu'd at *Rome*, and meanly depended upon
" others for Bread. But becauſe theſe were things
" too unworthy, and no ways fit to be born by
" Men, you choſe to reſort to the preſent Mea-
" ſures. If you deſire to be quit of your Choice,
" the only way you have is to be daring: For
" none but a Victor can give himſelf Peace; and
" 'tis but mere Madneſs to imagine you may ſave
" your ſelves by running away, or by baulking the
" uſe of thoſe Arms from which alone you ſhould
" expect your Security. No, in a Battel the moſt
" fearful are always expos'd to the greateſt Danger;
" but Boldneſs guards the Valiant like a Wall.
" When I view your Perſons, my Fellow Soldiers,
" and think on the Gallantry of your former At-
" chievements, I have confident Hopes that you
" will make me a Conqueror. Your Youth, your
" Zeal, your Courage are my Pledges: Beſide the
" Diſtreſs that your Affairs are in: Which often for-
" ces even Cowards themſelves to aſſume a moſt
" deſperate Reſolution: for as to our being ſur-
" rounded with Numbers, the ſtraitneſs of the
" Place will ſecure us ſufficiently. But if after all
" your moſt vigorous Efforts, Fortune ſhou'd envy
" Succeſs to your Valour, I beſeech you only to

take "

" take care that you *have* your Revenge for the " Lives you may part with; and inſtead of being " taken and Butcher'd like Sheep, ſhew you were " reſolv'd to loſe 'em like Men, and to leave to " your Enemies the Mortification of gaining a " Bloody and deplorable Victory.

Having ended, and paus'd for a little time; he gave the Word for the Trumpets to ſound, and led down his Forces in Order into a Plain: Where diſmounting, he caus'd both his own Horſes, and every Man's elſe to be ſent away, to make his Soldiers the more reſolute, ſeeing they were all on the ſame Terms, and without any hope of eſcaping by Flight. Then he proceeded to draw up his Army according to its Number, and the nature of the Ground. For the Plain lying between a Ledge of Mountains on the Left, and a Wall of craggy Rocks on the Right, he extended a Front of eight Cohorts; and the reſt he embatteld more cloſe for Reſerves. From among the latter he likewiſe drew out the choice of the Centurions, and honorary Veteranes, together with the ſtouteſt and beſt arm'd of the common Soldiers, and planted them in the Front. He aſſign'd to *C. Mallius* the Right Wing, and gave the Left to a Commander of *Feſula*. *Catiline* himſelf, with his freed Men, and thoſe Levies he had rais'd in the Colonies, choſe to take up his Standing by the Eagle, the ſame Standard that *C. Marius* was ſaid to have made uſe of in the *Cimbrian* War. On the other ſide, *Antonius*, who happen'd to be then lame, and ſo cou'd not be preſent in the Fight, gave the Command of his Army to *M. Petreius*, his Adjutant General: who poſted the Veterane Cohorts he had rais'd upon this Exigence in the Front of his Battel, and the reſt of the Forces behind for Reſerves. Then riding from Rank to Rank, he call'd to every Soldier by Name, and beſeech'd and intreated 'em

all

all to remember that they fought for their Altars, their Countrey, and their Children, againſt a Company of ill-arm'd Robbers. This Man being an old Soldier, who had ſerv'd for above thirty Years in the Army as Tribune, Præfect, Legate, or Prætor, (and always acquitted himſelf with Honour,) knew Perſonally moſt of the Soldiers, was acquainted with all their gallanteſt Actions, and by awakening their Memory at this Time inflam'd their Courage to the higheſt Degree. *Petreius* having view'd and provided for every thing order'd the Trumpets to ſound the Charge: And commanded the Cohorts to advance leiſurely. The ſame thing was done by the Enemy. But as ſoon as they were come near enough for the Light-arm'd to begin the Fight, both Armies ſet up a Shout, and without truſting to Dart or Spear, ran to cloſe at the ſame time, and ſetting Foot to Foot with their Adverſary, diſputed the Buſineſs with Sword in Hand. The Veteranes mindful of their priſtine Bravery preſs'd the Rebels with impetuous Fury, who again made as ſtout a Reſiſtance. In a word, the Battel on both ſides was fought with the greateſt Obſtinacy and Rage. *Catiline* during the whole time, attended with ſome of the briſkeſt of his Followers, kept himſelf at the Head of his Men, ſuſtain'd thoſe that were overpower'd, ſupply'd the Place of the wounded with freſh ones, had a quick Eye to every Quarter, often charg'd his Enemy in Perſon, laid about him with the utmoſt Vigor, and acquitted himſelf of all the Parts of a valiant Soldier, and accompliſh'd General. *Petreius* finding that *Catiline* made ſuch preſſing and unexpected Efforts, advanc'd (himſelf) with the Prætorian Cohort, and broke in upon his main Body. This put 'em into great Diſorder; and though there were ſeveral here and there who continu'd to make ſome little Oppoſition, yet an univerſal Slaughter enſu'd. Then he flew on the two Wings; wherein *C. Mallius* and the

the *Faſulane* Officer were kill'd fighting at the Head of their Forces. When *Catiline* perceiv'd that the Day was loſt, and himſelf left with but a handful of Men, calling to mind his high Quality, and the Figure he had once made in the World, he threw himſelf into the thickeſt of the Enemy, and was there ſlain with his Sword in his Hand.

When the Battel was over, 'twas plain to ſee with what a Rage and Reſolution of Spirit the whole Army of *Catiline* was inſpir'd. For every Man of 'em, generally ſpeaking, kept Poſſeſſion with his lifeleſs Carcaſs of the ſame Spot he was poſted in when the Fight began. Only a few in the main Body, who were ſcatter'd by the Prætorian Cohort, lay diſpers'd in different Places, but no Man of 'em wounded in the Back. As for *Catiline*, he was found lying at a good Diſtance from his own Men, among the dead Bodies of his Enemies, ſomewhat gaſping, but retaining in his Countenance the ſame fierceneſs which he had alive. And the laſt Thing remarkable is this, that there was not among his whole Army ſo much as one free Citizen, who ſuffer'd himſelf to be taken Priſoner either in the Fight, or as offering to fly; ſo equally merciful they all were to their own Lives, and thoſe of their Enemies. On the other Hand, it cannot be ſaid that the Conquerors gain'd a cheap Victory, or on ſuch Terms as they had reaſon to boaſt of; foraſmuch as there was hardly a Soldier of puſhing Valour, but fell in the Engagement, or was carry'd off deſperately wounded. And, in fine, many out of Curioſity, or elſe a greedy deſire of Plunder, going to take a view of the Field, and turning over the Carcaſſes of the Enemy, part found a Friend or Relation; others ſpy'd the Face of a Lodger; and ſome there were that lighted on an Enemy. So that a ſtrange Medley and confuſion of Joy and Sorrow, of Triumph and Lamentation diffus'd it ſelf through the whole Army.

THE

THE HISTORY OF *Caius Criſpus Salluſtius:*

Containing an Account of the JUGURTHINE WAR.

'TIS a groundleſs Complaint which Mankind have made concerning the Condition of their Nature, that 'tis very frail, and of ſhort duration, and govern'd more by Fortune than Virtue. So far from it, that on due Reflection you will find nothing to be more ſufficient, nothing more privileged than Man is; who neither wants Abilities for his Work, nor Time to do it in, but only Application. For the Commander of human Life is the Soul, who purſuing Glory through the Paths of Virtue, is always prevalent, is for ever ſucceſsful; and needs none of the Aids of Fortune; in whoſe Power it never was to beſtow or take away Induſtry or Virtue, or the leaſt brave Quality from any Man. But if this Soul ſeduc'd by its Paſſions abandons it ſelf to the Pleaſures of the Body, and becomes a Slave to deprav'd Habits; after the Man by ſuch Courſes has loſt his Parts, his Vigor, and his Time, he falls to taxing his Nature

ture of Impotence; and every one, to diſcharge himſelf, is for laying the Blame on the greatneſs of his Work. Whereas, wou'd Men but be as intent upon thoſe Things that improve their Minds, as they are upon ſuch as are inſignificant, nay, perhaps very deſtructive to them, they wou'd not be ſo much govern'd by Fortune, as that Dame wou'd be govern'd by them: And to ſuch a height of Grandeur wou'd they riſe, that inſtead of Mortals, their preſent Station, they wou'd make themſelves eternal in Glory. For as the Nature of Mankind is compounded both of Soul and Body, ſo all the Gifts and Atchievements of Man are agreeable to, and enſue the Condition (ſome) of the latter, and (others) of the former. And therefore Riches, a fine Face, Strength of Limbs, and the Things of that Claſs, are all fading and tranſitory Endowments: But the noble Productions of Wit and Genius are immortal, as the Soul from whence they proceed. As the Goods, in ſhort, of Fortune and the Body had once an Origine, they will have a Period. And all the moſt flouriſhing Things that do ſurround us, and which had a beginning will ſee an end: But the Soul is eternal and incorruptible; it governs the Affairs and Chances of the World; and it comprehends and is converſant with all Things; but is free (it ſelf) and uncircumſcrib'd. Which gives us the more Reaſon to admire the baſe Diſpoſition of thoſe Men, who yield up themſelves to the Pleaſures of the Body, and devote their Lives to Debauchery or Idleneſs; but ſuffer their Souls in the mean time, tho' the nobleſt moſt and capable Beings in the World, to languiſh through Careleſſneſs and Incultivation; eſpecially ſince there are ſo many ways by which the Soul may acquire Glory.

But among 'em all, I conceive that Offices or any Concern in the publick Government are in theſe Time the leaſt to be choſen, in regard that Prefer-

Preferments are not given in this Age as a Reward to the Virtuous; nor are any of those who obtain Authority by indirect or unfair Methods throughly safe, or the more honest for it: For though it should be in the Power of such to govern their Country or Parents by Force, and suppose it to be in their Will too to reform whatever appears to be amiss; yet Compulsion is no Ways advisable to be us'd. Besides, that all Innovations in Government are too apt to be attended with Slaughter, Dispersion of Citizens, and a thousand Mischiefs. On the other Hand; to weary one's self in hunting for Power, but be disappointed, and to reap nothing but a People's Hatred, is the most fatal of all Madness. Unless we can think there are Men enough of so debas'd and villanous a Spirit, as frankly to give up their Rights and Liberty for the Sake of aggrandizing a few.

But among the great Variety of Things which the Mind of Man may apply it self to, to relate the History of past Transactions is a Thing of prime Importance and Service: But I shall not enlarge on its Use and Excellence, because many have already spoken of it, and also that none may think I extoll it thro' meer Vanity, and as that Study which I have thought fit to prosecute my self. I expect to hear of a Set of People, who because of the Resolution I have taken to pass my Life retir'd from the Publick, call the great and profitable Work I have made Choice of by the Name of Idleness. Such, forsooth! who lay out themselves to worthier Purposes, in Cajolings, Cringings, and Feastings of the Mob, to become popular; and who, if they do but call to Remembrance in what Times I was put in Office, what great Persons were passed over, and then what a Sort of People they were who were brought afterwards into the Senate-House, will be forc'd to allow, that it was not so much from a Desire of Ease, as from juster Reasons, that I quitted

ted the Way of Life I was in; and that the Commonwealth is like to be better ſerv'd by my Idleneſs, than by all this Noiſe and Buſtling of others. For I have often heard that *Q. Maxumus* and *P. Scipio*, with other Heroes of the Republick, were wont to declare, That whenever they beheld the Statues of their Anceſtors, they felt their Spirits inflam'd with the moſt ardent Aſpirings to Virtue. Not, that the Wax or Figure of it ſelf could pretend to have ſuch an Efficacy in it; no, it was by bringing to mind the Acts perform'd by their Forefathers, that the Flame was kindled in their noble Breaſts: A Flame that was not to be quench'd or contented, till their own Virtue had made 'em to equal the Fame and Glory of their great Progenitors. But where's the Perſon in this Age, who is not rather for rivalling his Anceſtors in Riches and Expence, than in Induſtry and Virtue? The very Men of obſcure Birth, that hereto fore were oblig'd to earn by illuſtrious Deeds the Nobility they acquir'd, make their Way to Preferments now more by Theft and Corruption than Gallantry. As if the Offices of Prætor or Conſul were high and reputable Stations in themſelves, and not to be valued according to the Merit of thoſe Men who are rais'd to fill them. I have ſpoke with ſo much Freedom and Length, from the juſt Concern and Grief of my Soul, to behold the Degeneracy of the Republick; and proceed now to my chief Deſign.

I propoſe to write the Hiſtory of a War that was carried on by the People of *Rome* againſt *Jugurtha* King of *Numidia*. Firſt, becauſe 'twas a very ſharp one, and long waged with various Succeſs; and next for that it was this War that gave the firſt Occaſion for oppoſing and checking the Inſolence of the *Roman* Nobility; an Oppoſition and Struggle thereupon, that confounded all Things both human and divine; and proceeded to ſuch a Degree

of

of Madneſs, that nothing leſs than open Hoſtility, and the Ruin of *Italy*, could put an End to it. But before I enter on this Task, 'twill be fit to premiſe a few Thing for the clearing our Way to that which is to follow.

During the ſecond *Punick* War, wherein *Hannibal*, General of the *Carthaginians*, had given the greateſt Blow to the Affairs of the *Roman* Empire that ever it met with from the Time it came to be formidable in the World; *Maſiniſſa*, King of *Numidia*, being brought into Friendſhip and Alliance with the *Romans* by *P. Scipio*, (who was afterwards call'd *Africanus* for his Bravery,) had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſuch gallant Atchievements, that after the vanquiſhing of the *Carthaginians*, and the taking of *Syphax*, who had late poſſeſs'd a great and conſiderable Kingdom in *Africa*, the *Romans* gave the Confederare King all the Cities and Territory that were won. Oblig'd by which, *Maſiniſſa* continued a faſt and uſeful Friend to their State, to the Day that ended his Life and Reign. His Son *Micipſa*, on the Death of the Father, and that of his Brothers *Manaſtabal* and *Guluſſa*, who ſickned and died a little after, came to ſucceed to the whole Kingdom. This *Micipſa* had two Sons of his own Body, *Atherbal* and *Hiempſal*; and bred in his Court at the ſame Time, and with like Education as his own Children, *Jugurtha* the Son of his Brother *Manaſtabal*, whom old *Maſiniſſa* had thought fit to leave no greater than a private Gentleman, becauſe his Mother had been only a Concubine. *Jugurtha* by that Time he was grown up diſcover'd not only a good Face, but a great Strength and Activity of Body, and a yet greater Capacity of Mind. He ſhunn'd the Enticements of Eaſe and Luxury, and follow'd the Manly Exerciſes of his Countrey, in Running, Riding, and throwing the Dart; and tho' there was none but he out-did, there

there was none at the ſame Time but was fond of him. He moreover often hunted the Lion, with other Beaſts that were moſt furious, and was always either the firſt Man, or among the firſt that wounded the Prey. In a Word, he perform'd a World of Things, yet was ever the laſt to ſpeak of himſelf. *Micipſa* was mightily pleas'd at firſt with theſe Appearances, ſo promiſing in his Nephew, and look'd upon him as an Ornament to his Court: But at length perceiving himſelf declining, his Sons as yet but tender and raw, and his Kinſman's Intereſt daily advancing, he began to be much concern'd at the Caſe, and a thouſand Matters ran in his Mind: He conſider'd the Nature of Mankind, how very deſirous it was of Power, and how apt to be carried headlong to obtain it: And he thought of his own and his Childrens Age, as like to afford a fair Opportunity; a Thing that's enough in ſuch Caſes to tempt even Men of moderate Ambition to renounce their Loyalty, and turn Rebels. Theſe Reflections fill'd him with Fears; which were yet heighten'd by obſerving that *Jugurtha* had got the Hearts of all the *Numidians*: Upon which Account, if he made uſe of any unfair Ways to deſtroy him, he was apprehenſive 'twould create Diſturbances.

The King being thus diſtreſs'd in his Matters, and finding that neither by open Force, nor ſecret Treachery, he could ſafely rid himſelf of a Man who was ſo belov'd by the People, contriv'd another Way to diſpatch him. For knowing *Jugurtha* to be very daring, and extremely covetous of military Glory, he reſolved to expoſe his Perſon in Battels, and try if Fortune would take him off for him. Whereupon he made him General of the Forces of Horſe and Foot, that he was ſending into *Spain* to aſſiſt the *Romans* at the Siege of *Numantia*; hoping he would ſoon be knock'd on the Head thro' his own Forwardneſs to ſhew his Courage, or the vigorous Sallies of a fierce Enemy. But it fell out

to

to be far otherwiſe: For *Jugurtha*, a cunning and active Man, having enter'd into the Genius of *P. Scipio*, who was then General of the *Roman* Army, and obſerv'd the Enemy's Way of Fighting, by conſtant Toil and Vigilance in his Poſt, by a modeſt Obedience to all Commands, and by thruſting himſelf into any Dangers, quickly got ſuch a Reputation, as won him the Affections of our People, and made him terrible to thoſe of *Numantia*. To do him Juſtice, he was brave in Action, and ſhrewd in Counſel at the ſame Time; two Things that are ſeldom ſeen united together in one Perſon: For the Foreſight of Danger attending thoſe who have greateſt Skill in the Art of War, is often apt to beget Fear; as a large Courage, on the other Hand, is very likely to tranſport to Raſhneſs. Wherefore the General us'd *Jugurtha* in executing moſt Enterprizes of Difficulty, took him into the Number of his Friends, and became fonder every Day of him, as one whoſe Advices or Undertakings hardly ever fail'd of Succeſs. Over and above all which he was Liberal, and a Man of Addreſs and Pleaſantry. By which Means he had wrought himſelf into a mighty Intimacy with many of the *Romans*.

Now there happen'd to be then in our Army Multitudes of Upſtarts, and alſo Noblemen, who valued Money before Honeſty, were factious, and of great Authority at home, and better known than truſted abroad. Theſe inflam'd the Spirit of *Jugurtha*, that was but too ambitious of it ſelf, to endeavour after the Kingdom of *Numidia*; promiſing that it ſhould be all his as ſoon as *Micipſa* was once dead; and adding that he was the braveſt Man, and had therefore the beſt Title to the Crown; and laſtly, that any Thing might be bought at *Rome*. *Numantia* being taken at length, and razed, *P. Scipio* prepar'd to return to *Italy*: But before diſmiſſing the Confederate Troops he prais'd *Jugurtha*

in

in a set Oration, and rewarded his Gallantry with Presents. Then taking him to his own Tent, he privately advised him to make his Court to the People of *Rome* by such Ways as were open and honourable, and not clandestine; and dissuaded him from giving of Bribes to any one; telling him 'twas a Risque to contract for that with a few Men, which was the Gift of many: And adding, that if he retained his Virtue by continuing the Man that he was then, Empire and Glory would devolve upon him of their own Accord, and without seeking 'em; but that if he drove on precipitately, his very Money would become his Ruin. *Scipio* having thus told him his Thoughts, dismiss'd him with the following Letter for *Micipsa*.

" Your General *Jugurtha* has distinguish'd him-
" self above all at the Siege of *Numantia*: A Piece
" of News that I am sure must be pleasing! To
" us his Merits have made him dear; and our Care
" shall be that they may recommend him as much
" to the Senate and People of *Rome*. I congratu-
" late you hereupon as my Friend: For know,
" that you have in your Nephew a Man who is
" worthy of you and his Grandfather *Masiniſſa*.

When the King upon reading of this Letter found that the Voice of Fame was confirm'd by the Hand of the *Roman* General himself, being overcome by the Gallantry of the Man, as well as mov'd by the Interest he had got, he chang'd his Intentions, and from that Time endeavour'd to make him his own by Kindnesses. To which Purpose he presently adopted him, and by Will appointed him Co-heir with his own Sons to the Kingdom of *Numidia*. After a few Years were elapsed, and *Micipsa*, spent with Sickness and Age, perceiv'd his Life, was drawing to an End, 'tis said that, in the Presence of his Friends and Relations, with *Atherbal* and

Hiempſal his two Sons, he ſpoke to *Jugurtha* to this Purpoſe:

" I receiv'd thee, *Jugurtha*, into my Care " while thou wert a Child, left fatherleſs, and as " well deſtitute of Hope as of Help; believing " my Kindneſſes would make me as dear to thee " as if I had been thy own Father. This Expecta- " tion thou haſt not diſappointed; for to paſs over " the reſt of thy Atchievements, thou haſt newly " brought home Trophies and Honour to me and " to my Kingdom from the Siege of *Numantia*. " Thou haſt made the *Romans* (our old Friends) to " be more entirely our Friends than ever: Thou " haſt by thy Gallantry reviv'd the Name and Re- " putation of our Family in *Spain*: And in ſhort, " thou haſt conquer'd Envy it ſelf (which is hardeſt " of all) by Exceſs of Glory. I am now ſummon'd, " I find, by Nature to pay her back the Debt of " my Life: And by this Right-hand I beſeech thee, " by the Duty owing to thy Countrey I conjure " thee, to embrace with a dear and inviolable Af- " fection theſe my Sons, who are thy Kinſmen by " Birth, and by my Generoſity are become thy " Brethren; and never to prefer Strangers for thy " Friends before thoſe of thy own Blood. 'Tis not " Armies, nor great Treaſures, that are the Safe- " guard of Kingdoms, but faithful Friends; and " thoſe are neither to be forc'd nor hir'd: But are " gain'd by Kindneſs, and ſecur'd by Conſtancy. " And, I pray, who are likely to be truer to each " other than Brother and Brother? Or where will " he look for a faithful Friend who turns his back " on his neareſt Kindred? For my own Part, I " ſhall leave you a Kingdom very powerful, if you " hold together; but if not, 'twill be found a weak " one: For as little Things are greaten'd by " Union, ſo the ſtrongeſt are brought to nothing " by Diviſions. Now it muſt be your Care, my " *Jugurtha*,

" *Jugurtha*, as exceeding theſe in Years and Ex-
" perience, to prevent all ſuch Miſunderſtandings;
" For in all Diſputes the moſt powerful Party, tho'
" ſometimes that which receives the Injury, is yet
" thought to be the Side that does it, becauſe he
" is beſt able to do it. And as for you, *Atherbal*
" and *Hiempſal*, conſider and revere this brave
" Man: Study his Virtues for your Imitation; and
" take Care that it may never be ſaid that the
" adopted Son of *Micipſa* was a Heroe, but his
" own Children good for nothing.

Tho' *Jugurtha* knew that the King's Diſcourſe was all a Piece of Diſſimulation, and he himſelf had other Intentions, yet he thought it convenient at that Time to return a very plauſible Anſwer. This Affair being paſs'd over, *Micipſa* died in a few Days; and after his laſt Rites had been celebrated with a Grandeur ſuitable to a Royal Funeral, the three Kings had a Meeting together, to confer about the Affairs of the Nation; at which *Hiempſal*, the younger Brother, who was naturally headſtrong, of a high Spirit, and had ever look'd with Contempt on *Jugurtha*, as one who by reaſon of the Meanneſs of his Birth on the Mother's Side was much his Inferior, ſeated himſelf on the Right of *Atherbal*, to prevent *Jugurtha*'s ſitting in the Middle, the Place of greateſt Honour in *Numidia*; from whence, till after much Importunity by his Brother, he could not be prevail'd on to pay that Deference to *Jugurtha*'s Years as to remove himſelf to the farther Side. At this Conference they had much Diſcourſe about the Adminiſtration of the Government; and *Jugurtha* among other Things propos'd the annulling of all Ordinances made by *Micipſa* within the laſt five Years of his Reign, in regard he had been ſo long ſuperannuated, and not properly *Compos Mentis*. *Hiempſal* catching at thoſe Words, declar'd that he was well pleas'd with

the Motion, inaſmuch as 'twas but within the three laſt Years of the five that *Jugurtha* himſelf had been adopted by *Micipſa*, and appointed one of the Succeſſors to his Throne. This Expreſſion enter'd deeper into the Breaſt of *Jugurtha* than moſt imagin'd; inſomuch that from that very Moment, boiling with Anger, and rack'd with Jealouſy, he determined the ſpeedy Death of *Hiempſal*, and ſought to trepan him by divers Ways. Which when he found to proceed but ſlowly, the Reſentments of his Mind being unappeaſeable, he reſolv'd without any more Delay to effect his Purpoſe at any Rate. At the firſt Meeting, mention'd before, the three Kings diſſenting in their Counſels, agreed to divide the Treaſury amongſt them, and aſſign each his Part of the Kingdom: For both which there were Times prefix'd; but the Money was to be diſtributed firſt. In the mean Time they choſe to take up their Abodes ſeparately, in ſuch Places as lay neareſt to the publick Treaſure. Now *Hiempſal* happen'd on this Occaſion to reſide in a Houſe in the Town of *Thermis* that belong'd to one who was firſt Lictor, and alſo an old Favourite of *Jugurtha*'s; who laying hold on the Opportunity that Fortune preſented him in ſo fit an Inſtrument, prevail'd upon him by large Promiſes to make a Journey to his Houſe as a Viſitor, and to get falſe Keys to the Gates, for the true were always kept by *Hiempſal*, and told him that as ſoon as Matters were ready, he would come himſelf with a Body of Men. The *Numidian* quickly found Means to put his Inſtructions in Execution, and let in *Jugurtha*'s Soldiers in the Night; who, as ſoon as they were once enter'd the Houſe, diſpers'd themſelves into all Corners in order to find out the young King; cut the Throats of ſeveral as they ſlept, and diſpatch'd as many whom they met in the Way; examin'd all the private Apartments, broke up every Thing they found ſhut, and fill'd the Houſe with

Uproar

Uproar and Confuſion. At length *Hiempſal* was found out, having hid himſelf in a little Hole where a Maid-ſervant of the Family lodg'd, and to which, knowing not where to make, he had fled in a Fright on the firſt Alarm. The Soldiers preſently cut off his Head; and, according to their Orders, carried it to *Jugurtha*. The Report of this deteſtable Fact was immediately ſpread thro' all *Africa*. *Atherbal* and all the Friends of *Micipſa* were ſeized with Conſternation and Terror. The *Numidians* went into two Parties: The greater Number join'd with *Atherbal*, and the other (the more warlike) with *Jugurtha*; who, raiſing all the Forces he was able, took many Cities by Aſſault, got others to ſurrender voluntarily, ſpread his Conqueſts, and proceeded, in ſhort, to make himſelf Maſter of all *Numidia*. As for *Atherbal*, in the mean Time, tho' he had ſent away Embaſſadors to to *Rome* to acquaint the Senate with his Brother's Murder, and the Circumſtances his own Affairs were in, yet relying on the Superiority of his Numbers, he drew out his Army, and engag'd the Enemy; but was routed, and retir'd into our Province; from whence he went directly to *Rome*.

Jugurtha having now accompliſh'd his Deſign of engroſſing the whole Kingdom of *Numidia*, had Leiſure to reflect on his own Proceedings; which when he came to conſider with himſelf, he grew apprehenſive of the *Roman* Reſentment; againſt which he entirely deſpair'd of ſecuring himſelf any other Way than by the Avarice of the Nobles, and his own Money. Whereupon within a few Days after he diſpatch'd away Embaſſadors to *Rome* with a great Sum of Silver and Gold, and Inſtructions firſt to diſtribute it plentifully amongſt all his old Friends, in the next Place to make new ones; and in fine, not to ſtick at the bribing of any they could purchaſe over to his Intereſt. After the Embaſſadors were arrived at *Rome*, and, according to their

Orders, had disposed of their Money to the King's Friends, and to others whose Influence was at that Time prevailing in the Senate, the Scene was so much alter'd in an Instant, that *Jugurtha* from being detested, as once, was now become the special Favourite and Care of a great Part of the Nobility; many of whom being wrought upon by the Sums they had receiv'd, and others induc'd by the Hopes of coming into the Booty, employ'd all the Interest they had with every Senator to prevent their coming to any severe Resolutions against him. By which Management as soon as his Agents were satisfied they had made a sufficient Party, a Day was procur'd for the House to sit and give Audience to both Sides. At which Meeting 'tis said that *Ashirbal* deliver'd himself in the following Manner:

" 'Twas the last Command, most Illustrious " Lords, I receiv'd from my dying Father *Micipsa*, " to regard my self in no other Quality than that " of a Vicegerent of *Numidia*, the true Right " whereof was in you; to make it my Business to " become as serviceable as was possible to you both " in War and Peace; and to look for all that in you " which Kindred or Friends can afford or be. Add- " ing, that in your Alliance and Favour I should " find Armies, Treasures, and every Thing neces- " sary for the Support of a King and Kingdom. " These Directions of my Royal Father I had no " sooner begun to pursue, than *Jugurtha*, a Man " the most villanous on Earth, contemning all your " Empire and Power, set upon me, the Grandson " of *Masinissa*, and hereditary Friend and Ally of " the *Romans*, and drove me out of my Kingdom " and Inheritance. I could have been glad, most " Serene Fathers, since I was to fall into these Cir- " cumstances, to have had a Merit and Interest of " my own, rather than my Ancestors, to obtain your " Succour; but I should, I confess, have been bet-

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" ter pleaſed with a Title to it without needing it;
" and to want and receive it as a Sort of Debt to
" me, ſhould have been only my ſecond Wiſh.
" But inaſmuch as the greateſt Innocence is not of
" it ſelf a ſufficient Screen, and it was not in my
" Power to prevent *Jugurtha* from being the Man
" he proves, I am driven to you, moſt honourable
" Fathers, and, which is the moſt ſenſible Misfor-
" tune to me, am compell'd to become a Burden
" to your Lordſhips before I have been able to ren-
" der you any Service. Many Princes, even after
" you have conquer'd 'em, have been taken into
" your Friendſhip and Protection; and others by
" the very Diſtreſs of their Affairs have been ſo
" happy as to gain your Succour. But for our Fa-
" mily, they embark'd with the *Romans* in the very
" War with the *Carthaginians*; at which Conjunc-
" ture their good Will was more to be conſider'd
" than the Strength they might add to you. And
" ſuffer not, I beſeech you, the Deſcendent of
" ſuch a Family, and the Grandſon of *Maſiniſſa*,
" to addreſs himſelf in vain to you for your Aid.
" If I had nothing elſe to plead for it than the
" wretched Condition I am brought into, who
" from being a Prince but the other Day, of high
" Extraction, and powerful, and celebrated, am
" now a Wanderer, deſpoil'd of every Thing, and
" reduc'd to beg Aſſiſtance from others, it might
" look becoming the *Roman* Greatneſs to undertake
" the Cauſe of the injur'd, and permit none to
" proſper by Villany. But I am thruſt out from
" the very Territories which were once given my
" Anceſtors by the *Romans*; from thoſe Territories
" which my Grandfather and Father, in Conjunc-
" tion with you, won from *Syphax* and the *Car-
" thaginians* by the Dint of their Swords. 'Tis
" your Bounty that is torn from me; and in my
" Wrong 'tis your Lordſhips are affronted. Moſt
" unfortunate Man that I am! Is this, O my Fa-

" ther *Micipſa!* the Effect of thy Kindneſs, that the " Man thou didſt adopt and make Co-heir with " thy own Sons, is the only one that ſeeks to " extirpate the Iſſue of thy Body out of the World? " Is it doom'd that the Family of *Maſiniſſa* ſhall ne- " ver arrive at any Quiet? Muſt we always wade " in Blood, or be Exiles? As long as the *Carthagi-* " *nians* were in Power, we had no Reaſon to think " it hard that we ſuffer'd all the Calamities in the " World; we had then an Enemy for our next " Neighbour; our Friends the *Romans* lay at a " great Diſtance; and all our Security on the Points " of our Swords: But after *Africa* was clear'd of " that Plague, we flatter'd our ſelves with the Hopes " of Peace, as having no Enemies left, unleſs " your Lordſhips ſhould think fit to command us " to look on any as ſuch. But now *Jugurtha*, " laſhing out into the moſt aſpiring and outrageous " Wickedneſs, has murder'd my Brother and his " own Kinſman, uſurp'd a Kingdom for the Re- " compence of his Villany, and after attempting " by the ſame Treachery (but happily failing) to " deſtroy me, who, while under your Protection, " expected nothing leſs than ſuch Violence, has " forced me to live, as you ſee, an Exile, ſtripped " of Houſe and Home, and of every Thing, ſur- " rounded with Miſeries on all Sides, and every " where ſafer than in my own Kingdom. I did " reckon upon it for Truth, my Lords! what " my Father has often told me, That as thoſe " who endeavour'd to merit your Favour took an " arduous Work on their Hands; ſo if they ſucceed- " ed, they made themſelves the ſafeſt and happi- " eſt People in the World. For our Family, it " has done its utmoſt by engaging with you in all " your Wars: And 'tis now in your Power, my " Lords, to enable me to enjoy the Privilege of " Peace. The good King at his Deceaſe left us " two Brothers of his own Body, and a third

(*Jugurtha*)

" (*Jugurtha*) he thought he had join'd in the cloſeſt
" Bonds with us by his generous Kindneſs: One
" Brother is deſtroyed already, and I the Survivor
" have but narrowly eſcap'd the Attempts of his
" impious Hands. What ſhall I do, unfortunate
" that I am! Or to what Quarter betake my ſelf?
" All the Aids I might hope to derive from the
" Power of my Family are cut off: My Father
" has paid his Debt to Nature; my Brother has
" been butcher'd by the Treachery of a Kinſman,
" who ſhould have been the laſt to have hurt him;
" and all the reſt of my Relations and Friends am I
" robb'd of by one Sort of Cruelty or another: For
" falling into the Hands of *Jugurtha*, ſome have been
" rack'd to Death on the Croſs; others thrown to
" his Beaſts to be devour'd; and the very few that
" are yet living, are impriſon'd in dark and dolo-
" rous Dungeons, where they wear out a Life
" that is worſe than Death. Were I now Maſter
" of all that I have loſt, or of all that which is
" turn'd againſt me, I ſhould yet upon any unfor-
" tunate Emergence make my Application to your
" Lordſhips; in whom, by the very Extent of your
" Empire, it ſeems a Sort of Duty to maintain
" the Rights of the Oppreſſed every where. And
" now that I am reduc'd to the Miſery of quitting
" my Countrey, am become a Wanderer, and am
" rifled of every Thing that is fitting for me;
" Whither ſhall I fly? Or to whom ſhall I appeal?
" Shall I go to the Neighbour-Nations or Princes,
" who are all of 'em Enemies to our Family, be-
" cauſe of its ſtrict Alliance with you? Have I
" any Corner to retreat to, where there are not
" Monuments left of the Hoſtilities of my Ance-
" ſtors in Confederacy with you? Will any one
" that has been at Odds with the People of *Rome*
" afford me Succour? 'Twas, my Lords, the In-
" junction of *Maſiniſſa*, that we ſhould not enter
" into Engagements with any Nation beſides the

" *Romans*; aſſuring us, that in that Alliance we " ſhould never fail of a full Security; and that if " this Empire ſhould fall by any harſh and untime- " ly Fate, we ſhould look to periſh in the ſame " Ruin. You are rais'd, my Lords, by the Fa- " vour of the Gods and your own Gallantry to " the Top of Greatneſs: Every Thing gives Way " to your Puiſſance; by which Means you can eaſi- " ly vindicate the Cauſe of your Friends againſt " all Aggreſſors: And therefore I have nothing at " all to fear, unleſs it be, that ſome in this Houſe " may be led away by their Reſpect for *Jugurtha* " (too little known by 'em) and his fair Pretences. " And indeed, I hear his Agents have been labour- " ing and plying every one of you, to engage " you not to reſolve any Thing againſt him during " his Abſence, and before he has been heard; in- " ſinuating there's no Truth in my Complaints; " and that 'tis but Fiction that I am driven from " my Kingdom, wherein I might ſtay in Quiet if " I would. Now I only wiſh I could once ſee " the Man, by whoſe moſt audacious Wickedneſs " I am forc'd to make theſe miſerable Complaints, " oblig'd to come with the like Fictions; and that " you, my Lords, or the immortal Gods, would " ariſe at laſt for the rectifying of the World; that the " Man who braves it now in his Villanies, may be " made to pay with the moſt exquiſite Torments " for his Ingratitude to my Father, his murdering " of my Brother, and for all the Miſeries he has " made me ſuffer. And now, O my deareſt and " deceaſed Brother! whoſe Fate it was to be rob- " bed of thy Life by an untimely Stroke, and that " from one that it might have been leaſt expected " from; I think thy Caſe more happy than deplo- " rable: For tho' with thy Life thou haſt loſt a " Kingdom, thou haſt left behind thee by the ſame " Loſs the greater Evils of Exile and Want, and " all the Calamities that ſurround me; whoſe Af-

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" fliction 'tis to be driven out from the Kingdom
" of my Anceſtors, and be made a Spectacle of
" the ſad Uncertainty of human Things; whoſe
" Miſery it is to be ſo reduc'd, that I know not
" which to addreſs my ſelf to; whether the re-
" venging of thy Wrongs, tho' I am not able to
" help my ſelf; or whether to look after my own
" Kingdom, while my very living or dying depends
" on the Mercy and Aid of others. I could hearti-
" ly wiſh 'twere honourable for me to conclude
" my Misfortunes by embracing Death; that I
" might not live to be deſpis'd by the World for
" ſuccumbing, tho' forc'd to it, under my Oppreſ-
" ſor. And ſince I am almoſt averſe to living, and yet
" cannot die but with Infamy, unleſs I endeavour
" to right my ſelf, I beſeech you, Fathers, by
" your Parents and Children, I conjure you by
" your ſelves and the *Roman* Greatneſs, to grant
" Aſſiſtance to a wretched Prince, to ſtop the Ca-
" reer of a furious Robber, and not to ſuffer the
" Kingdom of *Numidia*, your own Property, to
" be a Prey to Villany, or diſhonour'd by the
" butchering of the Family of *Maſiniſſa*.

After the King had ended his Harangue, *Jugurtha*'s Ambaſſadors, who relied more on the Money they had ſcatter'd than the Goodneſs of their Cauſe, return'd this ſlight and brief Anſwer:

" That *Hiempſal* was ſlain by the *Numidians* for
" Tyranny: That *Atherbal*, after he had thought
" fit to become the firſt Aggreſſor in a War, where-
" in he was defeated, was come hither to complain
" that he was ſtripp'd of the Power to do Miſchief.
" And laſtly, That *Jugurtha* deſir'd their Lordſhips
" that they would not ſuppoſe him chang'd from the
" Man he was known to be at the Siege of *Numan-*
" *tia*; nor regard the bare Words of his Enemy, be-
" fore the weighty Deeds he had perform'd.

Having ended, both Parties withdrew, and the Houſe fell into Debate of the Caſe: Wherein thoſe who favour'd the Ambaſſadors, and a great many others who acted by their Influence, made a Mock of the Complaints of *Atherbal*; cried up *Jugurtha*'s Worth to the Skies; and with all their Intereſt, with the warmeſt Speeches, and, in ſhort, by all the Ways in the World, labour'd to buoy up the Villanies of another with as much Zeal, as if the Concern had been to ſupport their own Reputation. Yet a few there were on the other Hand, who preferring Honour and Juſtice to Money, gave their Votes for aſſiſting *Atherbal*, and ſeverely revenging the Murder of *Hiempſal*. But of all thoſe who ſtickled for *Atherbal*, the moſt remarkable was *Æmilius Scaurus*, an active, factious, and intriguing Nobleman; covetous of Wealth, Power, and Preferments; but one who likewiſe at the ſame Time had ſome Care to conceal his Vices. This Man perceiving that *Jugurtha* brib'd ſo publickly that it grew notorious; and fearing a Corruption ſo barefac'd would raiſe an Odium in the People, as is common, put a Reſtraint on his uſual Avarice. But that Party in the Houſe carried it which preferr'd Money and Favour to Right; and therefore 'twas reſolv'd, that ten Commiſſioners ſhould be ſent to divide the whole Kingdom of *Micipſa* between *Jugurtha* and *Atherbal*. The firſt in which Commiſſion was *L. Opimius*, a Man of Figure, and of great Authority then in the Senate; becauſe of the Zeal he had ſhewn in his Conſulate in proſecuting the Victory of the Nobles againſt the Commons, when *Caius Gracchus* and *M. Fulvius* were kill'd. *Jugurtha*, notwithſtanding this Man had been of the Number of his Friends at *Rome*, received him with utmoſt Ceremony, like a Stranger; and by Preſents and Promiſes wrought ſo far on him, that Honour, Integrity, and every Thing elſe, were laid aſide by *Opimius* to ſerve him.

With

With the like Arguments he addreſs'd himſelf to the other Commiſſioners, and prevail'd on moſt of 'em; few preferring their Truſt to Money. Wherefore, upon the Partition of the Kingdom, the Part which borders on *Mauritania*, and was moſt conſiderable for Soil and People, was lotted out for *Jugurtha*'s Share; and the other, which was more ſightly than ſerviceable, as being better furniſhed with Ports, and adorn'd with Buildings, was aſſign'd to *Atherbal*.

Here my Subject ſeems to demand of me a Draught of the Situation of *Africa*, with ſome Account of thoſe Nations with which we have had Alliances or War. For as to the Countries whoſe vaſt Deſerts, or which the Extremity of Heat or Cold have made to be leſs known or frequented, I have nothing to ſay of 'em but what is uncertain; but the other I'll ſpeak to as briefly as poſſible.

The greateſt Part of Geographers have divided the Globe of the Univerſe into three Parts, and made *Africa* to be one of the three: But ſome ſpeak but of *Aſia* and *Europe*, including *Africa* within the latter. 'Tis waſh'd to the Weſt by the *Streights* Sea, which joins our *Mediterranean* with the Ocean; and bounded on the Eaſt with a Tract of Countrey of great Declivity, called *Catabathmos*: The Seas about it are tempeſtuous and harbourleſs: The Soil is very fertile in Grain, and abounds in Cattle, but not Wood: It ſuffers under a Scarcity of Rain, as it does alſo of Springs and Rivers. The Inhabitants are Healthy, Swift of Foot, and able to endure Labour and Fatigue: The greateſt Part of them, except ſuch as periſh by the Sword, or by wild Beaſts, die merely of old Age; for Diſeaſes are rarely the Death of any: But they want not murderous Animals to deſtroy them. Now as to the firſt Poſſeſſors of *Africa*, what People flock'd to them afterwards, and how they

they incorporated with each other; tho' the Account I ſhall give may differ from that which is moſt generally receiv'd; yet what I have learnt of theſe Things from Tranſlations out of the *Punick* Books, (ſaid to be *Hiempſal*'s) as likewiſe the Tradition that obtains among the Inhabitants themſelves, I'll relate in as few Words as I can; but leave my Authors accountable for the Truth of 'em.

The firſt then who were in Poſſeſſion of this Countrey, were the *Getuli* and *Lybians*; a very ſavage and barbarous People. Their Food was Veniſon and the Herbs of the Field, which they eat in the ſame manner as the Beaſts. They liv'd without any Government or Laws, or the leaſt Meaſures of Diſcipline among 'em; roving about as they thought fit, and taking up their Quarters where the Night overtook 'em. But after the death of *Hercules* in *Spain*, (for there, as the *Africans* ſay, he dy'd) his Army, which had been made up of ſeveral Nations, having loſt their General, and many ſetting up for the Command of it, quickly drop'd away and diſbanded: Of whom the *Medes*, *Perſians*, and *Armenians* croſſing into *Africa*, ſettled (moſt of 'em) in the Parts adjoining to our Sea. But the *Perſians* more inwards, and to the Ocean. And theſe made 'em Tenements with their Ships, by turning the Bottom or Keel upwards; for the Countrey afforded 'em no Timber; nor had they the Convenience of importing it from *Spain*, having no Commerce with that Nation, by reaſon of the vaſtneſs of the Sea that was between 'em, and their unacquaintedneſs with the *Spaniſh* Tongue. It was not long before they began to intermarry and mingle with the *Getuli*. And becauſe 'twas their way to be always moving, and to ramble in queſt of new Territories, they gave themſelves the Name of *Numidians*. And the Cottages of the *Numidian* Boors do ſtill look like a Ship inverted, being built Oblong, and with Sides Convex. The *Medes* and *Armenians* were joyn'd by the

the *Lybians*, being ſeated near the *Africk* Sea; (whereas the *Gatuli* were more under the Sun, and not far from the Torrid Zone.) Theſe quickly built themſelves Towns; for being parted from *Spain* but by narrow Streights, they had Means of trading with each other. Their Name in time was corrupted by the *Lybians*, who call'd 'em *Maurs* inſtead of *Medes*, according to their barbarous way of Pronunciation.

The *Perſians* retaining their new Name, grew ſo faſt in the mean time, as in Power, ſo in Multitudes of People, that the younger ſort abandoning their Homes, march'd away, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Territory next adjoining to *Carthage*, and now going by the Name of *Numidia*. After which, being both join'd, they reduc'd their Neighbours by dint of Sword, or compell'd them to yield to their Power out of Fear: And gain'd thereby a great Reputation; but thoſe the moſt, who carry'd their Arms into the Parts confining on our Sea: For the *Gatuli* were better Soldiers than the *Lybians*. The Event of all which was this, that the greateſt part of the lower *Africa* came to call the *Numidians* Maſters: And the vanquiſh'd were all oblig'd to ſubmit to, and take upon them the Name of their Conquerors. Some time after this the *Phœnicians* to diſcharge their Numbers (too great at home) and ſome to ſet up Empires abroad, perſuaded many of the Common People and others who were fond of new Seats, to leave their old, and to ſearch out new ones. And accordingly they went and built *Hippo*, *Adrumetum*, *Leptis*, and other Cities on the Sea Coaſts: Which quickly growing rich and powerful, came (ſome) to be a Defence, and (others) an Honour to thoſe Countries from whence they had tranſplanted themſelves. For as to *Carthage*, I think it better not to mention a Word about her, than ſay too little of ſo great a City, while I am ſummon'd to other Matters. The firſt Place then that we meet with on the Sea Coaſt, and towards

Catabath-

Catabathmos (the Tract that divides *Egypt* from *Africa*) is *Cyrene*, a Colony from the Isle of *Thera*. Next to that are the two *Syrtes*, and between those the City of *Leptis*, follow'd by the Altars of the *Philæni*, which us'd to fix the Bound of the *Carthaginian* Empire on the *Egyptian* side. Then you have other Punick Towns. And for the rest of the Country as far as *Mauritania*, 'tis all in the Possession of the *Numidians*. The *Moors* are directly opposite to *Spain*. To the upper-side of *Numidia* are the *Gætuli*, who inhabit (some) of 'em in fix'd Cottages, but the Barbarous ramble from once Place to another. Beyond these the *Ethiopians* are situated. And lastly, the Deserts that are parch'd by the Sun. Now when the War began with *Jugurtha*, the *Romans* possess'd and had settled Governors in most of the *Carthaginian* Towns, and Frontier Places, having newly conquer'd them. The greatest part of the *Gætuli*, and the *Numidians*, as far as the * *Mulucha* obey'd *Jugurtha*. And the *Moors* were all under *Bocchus*, who knew no more of the *Romans* than their Name; nor had any Transactions of Peace or War made them know him before the *Jugurthine*. But I have said as much of *Africa*, and its Inhabitants, as the Necessity of the Subject requir'd from me.

After the Kingdom had been thus divided, the Commissioners parted from *Africa* for *Rome*. And *Jugurtha* perceiving that contrary to his Fears he had got a Reward allow'd him for his Villany, reckon'd upon't as a certain Truth, what had been formerly told him at *Numantia*, *That every thing was to be bought at* Rome; and being moreover encourag'd by the Promises of those whom he had lately brib'd, he resolv'd notwithstanding the late Partition to make himself Master of the Territories of *Atherbal*. Of an active Genius (himself) and

* *The Name of a River as well as of a City.*

and a Warrior: But the poor Prince he deſign'd upon, of a peaceful, effeminate and mild Diſpoſition, more afraid himſelf, than to be fear'd; and form'd, as it were, to be a Prey to Injuſtice. Thereupon at the Head of a numerous Band he enters his Kingdom before he was aware; ſweeps the Countrey of Men and Cattle, and whatever elſe he could meet with in his way; burns the Villages, and flies about with a Body of Horſe to inſult the Cities. And after ravaging thus for ſome time, returns home with the whole Booty; believing that *Atherbal* could not but reſent the Invaſion ſo far as to avenge it by Arms, the very thing he was deſirous of, as that which would give him a Pretext for a War with him. But *Atherbal* knowing himſelf to be an unequal Match for him that way; and depending more on his Alliance with the *Romans* than on all the Strength of his *Numidian* Subjects, contented himſelf with ſending Embaſſadors to *Jugurtha* to complain of the Injuries he had receiv'd. And though they met with a contemptuous Reception, yet he determin'd to ſuffer any thing, rather than take Refuge in Arms, wherein he had ſucceeded ſo ill before. But this Conduct did no way abate the unappeaſable Ambition of *Jugurtha*, who in his Heart had already poſſeſs'd himſelf of his Kingdom. Whereupon he enters it, not as before, with a Force only to make Depredations, but with a great Army to wage War; and, without concealing his Deſign any longer, to contend for the Empire of all *Numidia*. Wherever he came, he ruin'd the Countrey, plunder'd the Cities, and carry'd away the Booty; puff'd up the Spirits of his own Party, and ſtruck a Terror into thoſe of his Enemies. *Atherbal* finding himſef reduc'd to the Neceſſity of either quitting his Kingdom, or maintaining the Poſſeſſion of it by Force, raiſes an Army, and marches againſt *Jugurtha*. A little off the Town of *Cirta*, and not far from the Sea ſide, both Armies met, and encamp'd

camp'd; for becauſe the Evening was coming on, they declin'd engaging for that Day. But after the Night had been far gone, yet before Day-light was quite arriv'd, *Jugurtha*'s Men on a Sign given them, attack'd and broke into *Atherbal*'s Camp, and routed and overthrew his Soldiers, who had hardly time to betake themſelves to their Arms; and, for the greater part of 'em, were ſcarce awake. *Atherbal* himſelf with a few Horſe fled to *Cirta*: Whither he was ſo cloſely purſu'd, that if it had not been for a Multitude of *Italians*, that kept off the *Numidians* from the Walls, the War between the two Kings had been finiſh'd the ſame Day it began. Thereupon *Jugurtha* inveſted the Town, and with * Vines, Towers, and all ſorts of Batteries preſs'd the Siege with the utmoſt Vigor; haſting to reduce it before the Embaſſadors, which he heard *Atherbal* had before the Fight diſpatch'd to *Rome*, cou'd arrive there. As ſoon as the Senate was inform'd of the War, they order'd three young Gentlemen to *Africa*, with Inſtructions to go to the two Kings, and to let 'em know 'twas the Pleaſure of the Senate and People of *Rome* that they ſhou'd lay down their Arms, and ſubmit their Differences to be determin'd by Law; as the fittest Standard for the *Romans* to preſcribe, and the two Contenders to be guided by. The Commiſſioners quickly arriv'd in *Africa*, having made ſo much the more Speed, in regard that while they were preparing for their Journey, the News of the Engagement abovemention'd and beſieging *Cirta* was brought to *Rome*: But the Relation was much mitig'd and ſoftned. *Jugurtha* on Receipt of the Commiſſioners Meſſage, told them, "That there "was nothing in the World for which he had a "greater Deference than for the Authority of the "*Roman*

* *Which were made like Hurdles, and cover'd with raw Skins, and being join'd together, ſerv'd for a Shelter to the Beſiegers in their Approaches.*

" *Roman* Senate: That he had endeavour'd ſo to " behave himſelf from his Youth, as to be approv'd " by every good Man: That 'twas not ill Deeds, " but his Virtue which had recommended him ſo " much to *P. Scipio*, that great Ornament of the " Common-wealth: That it was for the ſame Vir- " tue and Behaviour, and not for want of Children " of his own, that *Micipſa* had adopted him for an " Heir to his Kingdom. But that the more deſer- " ving he had been, he was the leſs able to digeſt " Affronts. That *Atherbal* had laid Snares for his " Life, which he had only endeavour'd to diſap- " point. That the *Romans* wou'd act an unjuſt Part, " if they barr'd him the Benefit of the Law of " Nations. And laſtly, that he wou'd in a little " time ſend away Embaſſadors to *Rome* to give Sa- " tisfaction as to all his Proceedings.

With this Reply the Commiſſioners departed, without having Liberty to ſpeak with *Atherbal*. When *Jugurtha* ſuppos'd they were got out of *Afri- ca*; and found that he cou'd not take *Cirta*, by rea- ſon of its natural Strength, by Storm, he ſurrounds it formally with Trenches and Works; erects Tow- ers and fills them with Men; labours continually Night and Day to reduce the Town by Stratagem or Force; tempts the Beſieged ſometimes with Pro- miſes, and anon endeavours to terrify 'em into a Surrender; animates the Aſſailants to puſh on; and, in ſhort, leaves nothing undone. *Atherbal* hereupon perceiving his Affairs to be in Extremity; that he had to do with an implacable Enemy; that there was no ſuch thing as Relief to be expected, and that he was not in Condition to hold out a long Siege, for want of Proviſions, picks out two of the brisk- eſt Fellows of thoſe who had follow'd him into *Cirta*, who induc'd by the great Promiſes he made 'em, and by their own Commiſeration of his Cir- cumſtances, undertook to paſs through the Enemy's Camp

Camp in the Night to the next Shore, and from thence to *Rome*. The *Numidians* in a few Days perform'd it; and deliver'd a Letter from *Atherbal* to the Senate; which was read in the Houſe, and had theſe Contents.

" It has not been, moſt illuſtrious Fathers, any " Fault of mine, that has made me apply ſo often " to you for Succour; but I have been conſtrain'd " to it by the Outrages of *Jugurtha*, who thirſts " ſo immeaſurably after my Blood, that he purſues " it in Defiance of all your Reſentments, as well as " that of th' immortal Gods. Nothing will ſatiſ- " fy him, but my utter Deſtruction. And therefore " I have been for theſe five Months (tho' all the " while an Ally of the *Romans*) cloſely beſieg'd by " him in my own Town. Nor have either the Te- " ſtament of my Father *Micipſa*, or your Decrees " been available to relieve me. I can hardly ſay " whether I am moſt preſs'd by Famine, or my E- " nemy's Sword. My ill Fortune, and the Experi- " ence I have had of the little Credit that's given " to the Miſerable, wou'd diſſuade me from ſay- " ing any thing more of the Villanies of *Jugurtha*, " but that I am ſatisfy'd he deſigns more than the " ruining me; and that he can't expect to rob me " of my Kingdom, and yet remain in Friendſhip " with you. Which of theſe he moſt regards is, I " think, obvious to every one. For firſt he mur- " der'd my Brother *Hiempſal*; and in the next place " he drove me from my Native Kingdom. As " to private Diſputes between us, you might think " it not convenient to meddle in 'em: But this " Affair is your Lordſhips own; 'tis your King- " dom he has ſeiz'd upon; 'tis a King, my Lords, " of your own making, that he thus daringly be- " ſieges in me. How little he valu'd the Meſſage of " your Deputies, my preſent Extremity does ſuf- " ficiently ſhew; and what Remedy remains for

" me

" me, but your Arms to reduce him to Reaſon?
" For my own part, I cou'd heartily wiſh, that both
" every Word I have now written, and all I have
" formerly repreſented in the Houſe, were nothing
" elſe but a mere Figment, rather than have it made
" true by the wretched Condition I am now in.
" But ſince I was born for nothing elſe but to be
" an Example of the wickedneſs of *Jugurtha*, I
" acquieſce in Calamity and Death; and only beg
" that you will not let me fall into the Hands of
" my Enemy, and be tortur'd. Provide then as
" you pleaſe, my Lords, for the Government of
" *Numidia*, your own Kingdom; but by the Ho-
" nour of the *Roman* Empire; by the Faith that's
" due to our ſtrict Alliance; by the Actions and
" Memory of my Grandfather *Maſiniſſa*, (if there
" be any Remembrance yet left of him) I beſeech
" you to reſcue me from the violence of a Villain.

Upon reading this Letter in the Houſe, ſeveral of the Members were of Opinion that an Army ought to be ſent into *Africa* with all Expedition, to relieve *Atherbal*: And that in the mean time they ſhou'd conſider in what manner to deal with *Jugurtha*, for his diſobeying the Meſſage of the Deputies. But *Jugurtha*'s Party with Might and Main oppos'd their coming to this Reſolution; and the publick Good was on this Occaſion, as it happens to be upon many other, forced to give way to private Intereſt. However they thought fit to appoint ſome of the chief and moſt elderly of the Nobles to go their Commiſſioners into *Africa*; of whom the above-mention'd *Staurus* was one, a Man of conſular Dignity, and at that time Preſident of the Senate. The Commiſſioners, in regard the Affair they went on was of a crying Nature, and being likewiſe haſten'd by the Meſſengers of *Atherbal*, got o' Shipboard in three Days, and arriv'd ſhortly after at *Utica*. From whence they diſpatch'd a Courier to *Jugurtha*,

Jugurtha, to let him know that they were come from the Senate, and expected his Attendance in the Province forthwith. When he underſtood that Men of ſuch Note, whoſe Authority was very great in the State, were arriv'd to put a ſtop to his Deſigns, he was much concern'd, and diſtracted at once by the two Paſſions of Fear and Ambition. Afraid he was of the Senate's Reſentment, if he did not pay Obedience to their Deputies; but then his Soul on the other hand carry'd away by a blind Ambition, was for going on with what he had begun: The Reſult was, that in a Breaſt ſo aſpiring, the laſt and worſt Counſel prevail'd. Whereupon ſurrounding the Town with his Army, he ſtorms it vigorouſly on all ſides: perſuading himſelf, that by diverting the Enemy, and giving 'em their Hands full in every Quarter, he might carry it by Force, or have a Chance to ſurprize it. But the Attempt not ſucceeding to his Mind, and being diſappointed of his chief Aim of getting *Atherbal* into his Hands before any Interview had with the Commiſſioners, he bethought himſelf; and fearing that *Scaurus*, of whom he ſtood in the greateſt Awe, wou'd reſent his delaying any longer to wait on 'em, he went with a few Horſe to the Province: Where notwithſtanding he was reprimanded and ſmartly threatned in the Name of the Senate, on his not raiſing the Siege of the Town: Yet, after a great deal of Altercation, the Commiſſioners were oblig'd at laſt to depart, without effecting any thing at all.

An Account of this being brought to *Cirta*, the *Italians*, whoſe Valour had defended the Place, depending upon honourable Treatment on a Surrender, in Conſideration of the Puiſſance of the *Romans*; perſuaded *Atherbal* to deliver up himſelf and the Town to *Jugurtha*, without inſiſting upon any Condition, but only that of Quarter for his Life; aſſuring him, that the Senate wou'd take care to right him in all other Particulars. Whereupon *Atherbal*,

therbal, tho' he was ſenſible that nothing cou'd be falſer than *Jugurtha*'s Word, yet knowing himſelf in the Hands of thoſe who had Power to force him, if he ſtood out, ſubmitted himſelf to their Advice, and ſurrender'd. The firſt thing that *Jugurtha* did, was the killing *Atherbal*, after he had tortur'd him; and in the next place he put to the Sword all the *Numidian* Youth, and the † Merchants promiſcuoſly, as they fell in the Soldiers way.

When the News of this was brought to *Rome*, and the Matter came to be debated in the Senate, the old Penſioners of the King interpos'd; and what by making Friends in the Houſe, and what by ſpinning out Time in wrangling, had ſo far qualify'd the heinouſneſs of the Fact, that if *C. Memmius* Tribune of the People Elect, a briſk Man, and a great Stickler againſt the growing Power of the Nobles, had not acquainted the Populace with the Deſign that was carrying on by a certain Faction to paſs over the Villany of *Jugurtha*, all the Indignation of the Senate wou'd, by drawing out the Debate from one Day to another, have vaniſh'd into nothing; ſo prevailing was Intereſt and the King's Money. But the Senate being conſcious of their own Tardineſs, were afraid of the People: And therefore according to the Law of *Sempronius*, decreed *Numidia* and *Italy* to be the Provinces of the next Conſuls, who who were declar'd to be *P. Scipio Naſica*, and *L. Beſtia Calpurnius*, To the firſt of theſe happened *Italy*; and *Numidia* fell to the Lot of *Calpurnius*. Thereupon an Army was rais'd forthwith, in order to be tranſported into *Africa*; And a Vote paſs'd for Money, Ammunion, and other Neceſſaries for carrying on a War.

When

† *The* Italians *beforementioned, who were there upon the account of Trade.*

When *Jugurtha*, contrary to his Expectation, as one who had long taken it for granted that Money wou'd effect any thing at *Rome*, had receiv'd Intelligence of theſe things, he diſpatch'd away his own Son and two of his Favourites Embaſſadors to the Senate, with the ſame Inſtructions he had given thoſe whom he ſent thither on the Murder of *Hiempſal*: which were, to bribe all they cou'd meet with. *Beſtia* upon their Approach towards *Rome*, thought it convenient to conſult the Senate whether to admit 'em within the Walls. And the Reſolution of the Houſe was, that unleſs they came with an Offer from their Maſter, to deliver up both his Perſon and Kingdom, they ſhou'd depart out of *Italy* in ten Days. The Conſul communicated this to them; ſo they went home without doing any thing. In the mean time, *Calpurnius* having got his Army in Readineſs, choſe for his Legates ſome of the Nobles who were potent and factious, and whoſe great Authority might ſhelter him in caſe of any Miſmanagements. Of which Number *Scaurus* was one, whoſe Character we have already given. For the Conſul himſelf, it muſt be confeſs'd he was Maſter of many conſiderable Endowments both of Body and Mind, but they were all of 'em render'd uſeleſs by Covetouſneſs. Able he was to endure Fatigue; of a quick Underſtanding, and good Foreſight; well ſkill'd in the Art of War; Proof againſt all manner of Surprize; and not to be ſhaken in the greateſt Danger. The Legions march'd through *Italy* for *Rhegium*; from whence they were ſhipp'd off for *Sicily*, and from thence tranſported into *Africa*; where *Calpurnius*'s firſt Care was to make ſure of Proviſions for his Forces; and then he briſkly enters *Numidia*, takes a great Number of Priſoners, and ſeveral Cities with Sword in Hand. But as ſoon as *Jugurtha* began by his Agents to lay before him the Temptations of Gold, and the Difficulties of the War he had undertaken, his Mind ſick'ned

of

of the Diſtemper of Avarice, and became tractable to the Service of the King. However, he took care to have *Scaurus* for a Partner and Aſſiſtant in all his Counſels; who, notwithſtanding he had ſtickled ſtrongly againſt *Jugurtha*'s Intereſt at firſt, when the greateſt part of the Faction beſides had ſuffer'd themſelves to be ſcandalouſly corrupted, yet mov'd at laſt by the vaſtneſs of the Bribe, was brought off from the ſide of Juſtice to eſpouſe that of Oppreſſion and Villany. The King however had not at firſt the Aſſurance to talk of purchaſing any thing more than a kind of Ceſſation of Arms; flattering himſelf he ſhou'd find ways in the mean time by Money or Friends to effect ſomething farther at *Rome*. But after he underſtood that *Scaurus* was prevail'd upon to be one in the Affair, he began to reckon on a full Peace; and reſolv'd to treat in Perſon of the Terms of it. To ſecure him in which, and by way of Hoſtage, the Quæſtor *Sextius* was ſent by the Conſul to a Town of the Enemy's call'd *Vacoa*, tho' under pretence of receiving ſome Corn, which *Calpurnius* had openly, to amuſe thoſe about him, commanded the Agents to provide for him, in Conſideration of the Truce they deſir'd before they came to an entire Surrender. Thereupon *Jugurtha* came into the Camp, and after making a ſhort Speech to the Council of War in Excuſe of his Actions, petition'd to be admitted to a Surrender: But the Manner and Terms upon which he was to make it, were tranſacted in private with *Beſtia* and *Scaurus*. And the next Day the Votes of the Council being taken in a huddle, he was admitted accordingly. However, as 'twas order'd before the Council, thirty Elephants, a good Number of Horſes, Cattel, and a conſiderable Sum of Money were deliver'd to the Quæſtor. Upon which *Calpurnius* departed for *Rome*, to aſſiſt in the Election of new Magiſtrates: and all was Peace in *Numidia* and the Army.

As ſoon as the News had reach'd *Rome* how Matters had been carried in *Africa*, there was nothing talk'd of in all Converſations but the ſtrange and diſhonourable Management of the Conſul. The Populace were in a great Rage; and the Fathers themſelves under much Perplexity, as not knowing whether they had beſt to agree to his ſcandalous Act, or reſcind it; but the Power of *Scaurus*, who was ſaid to be *Beſtia*'s chief Adviſer and aſſociate in the Thing, deterr'd them from taking the right Courſe. But while the Senate was thus heſitating, *C. Memmius*, of whoſe Freedom of Speech and Inveteracy againſt the Power of the Nobles we have already given the Reader a hint, endeavour'd to ſtir up the People by Harangues to revenge themſelves upon thoſe who had betray'd 'em: exhorted 'em not to deſert the Cauſe of the Common-wealth and their own Liberty; laid before 'em ſeveral haughty and tyrannical Acts which the Nobility had done; and in ſhort labour'd with the utmoſt Zeal, and by all the ways in the World to inflame them. And here in regard the Eloquence of *Memmius* was at that time in great Reputation, and carry'd a mighty Stroke with it at *Rome*, I think it proper to recite one of the many Orations he deliver'd to the People, and I pitch upon that which he made to an Aſſembly upon *Beſtia*'s return in the following Words.

" If the great Concern I have for the Publick did
" not outweigh all Conſiderations, I have Things
" enough, my Countreymen, to deter me from
" ſtanding up in Defence of your Cauſe: As the
" Strength of the Faction, your own Tameneſs, no
" ſuch thing as Juſtice to be had; and above all, the
" Experience that Honeſty is attended with more
" Danger than Credit. For it grieves me to look
" back and obſerve how you have been for theſe
" fifteen Years inſulted by the Power of a few No-
" blemen: and how ſhamefully and how unre-
" veng'd

" veng'd you have ſuffer'd your beſt Champions to
" periſh! Nay, ſuch Sloth or Cowardice has poſ-
" ſeſs'd you, that at this time, when your Enemies
" Practices have laid 'em ſo open, you forbear to
" ſtir: You are even now afraid of the Men to
" whom on the contrary you ſhou'd make your
" ſelves a Terror. But notwithſtanding the Caſe be
" thus, my Zeal obliges me to ſtand up in Oppoſi-
" tion to the Power of a Faction. Yes! I reſolve
" to make uſe of the liberty of Speech bequeath'd
" me by my Anceſtors, but what Succeſs I ſhall uſe
" it with depends alone upon your Pleaſure I am
" not going about, my Countreymen, to incite you
" to what your Fore-fathers have often done in the
" like Caſes, the taking up Arms to redreſs your
" Grievances. There's no need of that, or a Seceſ-
" ſion. They muſt fall by the ſame Methods of Ju-
" ſtice by which themſelves have deſtroy'd others.
" After the maſſacring *Tiberius Gracchus*, who, they
" cry'd out, aſpir'd to be King, the Commons were
" perſecuted with all ſorts of Proceſs. After the
" Murder of *Caius* and *Fulvius*, Multitudes of your
" Brethren were deſtroy'd in Priſons. And in either
" Caſe it was not at laſt owing to any regard to
" Law but to their own Pleaſure that an end was
" put to it. I'll ſuppoſe for once, that to ſet up
" for the Rights of the People was to aim at King-
" ſhip; and for what cannot be well puniſh'd with-
" out ſhedding the Blood of ſome Citizens, let it
" paſs for Law to ſhed it accordingly; and ſee what
" our Nobles will get by it! You have ſeen for ſe-
" veral Years paſt with a ſilent Reſentment the
" Treaſury pillag'd, Tribute exacted from free Na-
" tions to put into the Pockets of a few Noble-
" men, with all the Wealth and Dignities of the State
" monopoliz'd into their Hands. And yet inſtead
" of being contented to go off unpuniſh'd for their
" Crimes, they carry'd their Outrages yet farther,
" and have treacherouſly given up your Honour,

" the Juſtice of the Empire, and all Rights both
" both Divine and Human, as a Prey to your Ene-
" mies. Nor do the Actors of theſe Things diſ-
" cover the leaſt Sorrow or Shame for 'em; but
" walk in State under your Noſes; boaſting their
" Pontificates, their Conſulates, and their Tri-
" umphs, as if they were Proofs of their great Me-
" rit, and not rather of their Uſurpings upon you.
" The very Slave that is purchas'd with Money
" won't bear with a tyrannical Maſter. And can
" you, my Countreymen, who were born to com-
" mand, find the Patience to endure Bondage? But
" what are theſe Men (by the way) who have thus
" laid their Hands on our Government? Why the
" moſt oppreſſive and inſatiably covetous, the blood-
" ieſt, and the haughtieſt Fellows in the Univerſe:
" Fellows whoſe Practice is to ſet Faith, Honour,
" Equity, and every thing to Sale. Some have but-
" chered the Tribunes of the People; others have
" plagu'd you with illegal Proceſſes; and the greater
" part of 'em have found it neceſſary to ſhed as
" much of your Blood as they cou'd: For the more
" Havock they make among you, the more ſafe
" they ſuppoſe themſelves. The Fear which ſhou'd
" have attended their Wickedneſs, they have left to
" your Cowardice to take to. And being embark'd
" in the ſame Intereſt, and all on an equal Foot as
" to Danger, they are all united as one Man. Now
" ſuch a Conjunction of honeſt Men might deſerve,
" perhaps, the Title of Friendſhip; but among Vil-
" lains, it is but a Conſpiracy. And were You but
" as zealous in preſerving Liberty, as They are am-
" bitious of Domination, they wou'd never be able
" to make ſuch Spoil of the Common-wealth as
" they do at preſent. Nor wou'd your Favours fall
" to the Share of a Crew of Robbers, but of Men
" of Virtue. Your Fore-fathers thought it conve-
" nient to divide no leſs than twice from the No-
" bles, and poſſeſs themſelves of the *Aventine*

" Mount in an armed Body to aſſert their Privi-
" leges, and maintain the Dignity of the *Roman*
" Commonalty. And will not you be prevail'd up-
" on to exert your laſt Efforts in Defence of that
" Liberty their Bravery has bequeath'd you? eſpe-
" cially ſince 'tis more diſhonourable to quit the
" Rights you were once poſſeſs'd of, than never
" to have had any ſuch at all? But ſome among
" you perhaps will aſk me what it is I wou'd have
" you do? I anſwer, you muſt take a juſt Venge-
" ance on thoſe who have betray'd the Publick to
" your Enemy; not by an Inſurrection, or by Force,
" as being unfitter for you to act it, than for them
" to ſuffer by ſuch Violence; but bring the Par-
" ties to a fair Trial, and ſet *Jugurtha* up as an E-
" vidence; who if he has made a Surrender indeed,
" will comply with what you demand of him;
" but if he refuſes, you'll then judge what that Sur-
" render and Peace is, by which *Jugurtha* has
" reap'd Impunity, a few great Ones prodigious
" Treaſure, and the Publick nothing but Loſs and
" Infamy. But perhaps you have not had as yet
" enough of the Tyranny of theſe Men: And you
" fancy thoſe the happieſt Times when the Admi-
" niſtration of Kingdoms and Provinces, of Laws
" and Juſtice, of Peace and War, and, in ſhort,
" when all things divine and human were ſeen u-
" ſurp'd by a few Aſpirers; while you the uncon-
" quer'd People of *Rome*, and the Lords, forſooth!
" of the whole World thought it a Privilege if you
" might but breath. For where's that one Man a-
" among you who had then the Hardineſs to re-
" fuſe to ſerve? Tho' I can't but think it a ſcan-
" dalous thing that any Man ſhou'd receive Wrong;
" and the Malefactor go off unpuniſh'd, yet I cou'd
" for once agree you ſhou'd pardon the greateſt of
" Criminals in regard they are Citizens, if I were
" not well ſatisfy'd that your Clemency wou'd on-
" ly iſſue in your own Deſtruction. For theſe Men

" are ſo reſtleſs in their Nature, that unleſs you to-
" tally take from 'em the very Power of hurting
" you for the future, they'll never think they have
" gain'd enough by going off without being pu-
" niſh'd; and you will live in perpetual Diſquiet,
" as finding you muſt either be Slaves to them, or
" maintain your Liberty with Sword in hand. For
" what Shadow of Hope can there be of eſtabliſh-
" ing a firm Union between ye? They are re-
" ſolv'd to become your Lords, and you to con-
" tinue free Men: They are bent to inſult your
" Rights, and you as much determin'd to defend
" 'em. They moſt perfidiouſly treat your Ene-
" mies as ſo many Friends, and your Friends as
" Enemies. And can there be any ſuch thing as
" Agreement between Parties of Ends and Senti-
" ments ſo very oppoſite to each other? I beſeech
" then and conjure you, O *Romans!* not to ſuffer
" ſuch crying Wickedneſs to paſs without its de-
" ſerved Puniſhment. The Caſe before you at
" this time is not about robbing the Chequer, or
" extorting Money from any of our Allies: Which
" tho' Offences of a high Nature, are now ſo com-
" mon they are thought but Trifles. No, 'tis the
" *Roman* Senate is betray'd; 'tis your Authority is
" deliver'd up as a Prey to your moſt invetrate E-
" nemy: And the Publick both at home and a-
" broad, is bought and ſold by a Crew of Merce-
" naries. If you look not into theſe things, and
" bring the Guilty to condign Puniſhment, what
" ſhou'd you do but, without Scruple, own your
" ſelves their abſolute Slaves, and ſubmit to 'em
" as ſo many Kings? For what is Kingſhip but aſ-
" ſuming to act without liableneſs to any Account?
" All this while I am not diſpoſing you to be more
" willing that your Fellow Citizens ſhou'd be found
" faulty, than appear innocent; but only, in caſe
" they are truly guilty, not to vouchſafe a Mercy to
" Villains, that may prove a Cruelty to honeſt Men.

" Beſides

" Beſides, 'tis better Policy in a Government to
" forget a Service than excuſe an Injury. For a
" Man of Merit, if he be neglected, only grows
" a little diſcourag'd: Whereas the Conſequence
" of conniving at a Raſcal, is to make him but
" more daring in Villany. I ſhall only add, that if
" you revenge all the Invaſions that are made up-
" on you, you won't be put to ſuch frequent trou-
" ble of calling in the Aid of your Friends.

Memmius by this and the like Harangues perſuades the People to depute *L. Caſſius*, who was then Prætor, to go to *Jugurtha*, and, engaging the Publick Faith for his Safety, prevail upon him to come to *Rome*, to the end the Intrigues of *Scaurus* and the reſt who are ſaid to be guilty of taking Bribes, might be made appear convictively by his Evidence. During which Tranſactions at *Rome*, they who were left behind by *Beſtia* to command the Army in his Abſence from *Numidia*, following the bad Example of their General committed many and moſt ſcandalous Miſdemeanors. Some there were, who corrupted by Money, deliver'd back the Elephants to *Jugurtha*; others ſold to him the Deſerters; and divers plunder'd the Provinces that were at Peace: So ſtrong a Fit of Avarice had ſeiz'd like a ſort of Plague upon all their Spirits. *Memmius*'s Point being thus gain'd, and the Nobles ſtruck as it were with Thunder, the Prætor goes to *Jugurtha*, and adviſes him, that ſince he had ſurrender'd, he had better throw himſelf on the Mercy of the *Romans*, than provoke their Power. And finding him miſgiving through Guilt, and diffident of his Safety in ſo doing, he gives him, together with that of the Publick, his own Word for it, as an equal Security; ſo great was the Reputation of *Caſſius*. Upon this *Jugurtha*, in a pitiful Garb, and with Equipage not befitting a King, ventures to come in Perſon to *Rome*: And tho' he had naturally an undauntedneſs

of Soul, and moreover Aſſurances given him by thoſe who had been his Upholders, that all things ſhou'd be well, yet he took care by a great Bribe to ſecure *C. Bœbius* the Tribune of the People, whoſe Impudence he hop'd wou'd carry him out both againſt Juſtice, and the Rage of the Populace. *Memmius* having call'd an Aſſembly of the People, they appear'd ſo incens'd againſt the King, that ſome of 'em were for clapping him in Irons: And others for taking the old way of inflicting Capital Puniſhment upon him, unleſs he wou'd let 'em know his Accomplices. But *C. Memmius* being more concern'd for their Honour, than gratifying their Paſſion, endeavour'd to qualify 'em; and convinc'd 'em at length of the juſt Neceſſiity of preſerving the Publick Faith inviolate. After having procur'd Silence, he brought in *Jugurtha*; and made a Speech, wherein he laid open all the Intrigues he had carried on both at *Rome* and in *Numidia*: Spoke of his horrid Ingratitude to *Micipſa*: and rip'd up his barbarous Uſage of his Brothers; adding, that tho' the People of *Rome* were not ignorant who had abetted him, yet they wou'd have 'em impeach'd by him; and that, if he made a fair Diſcovery, he might juſtly rely on the Clemency of the *Romans*, and their keeping their Word with him; but if he conceal'd 'em, that he would not do 'em the leaſt Service by it, and wou'd ruin himſelf. As ſoon as *Memmius* had done ſpeaking, and *Jugurtha* was call'd upon for an Anſwer, the Tribune *C. Bœbius*, who, we told you, had been brib'd, forbid him ſaying any thing at all. And tho' the People clamour'd and ſtorm'd at it, and cou'd almoſt have laid Hands on him for Madneſs, yet he weather'd it all by his invincible Confidence: ſo that the Aſſembly was * forc'd to go home like a Pack of Fools, having done nothing; and the Spirits of *Jugurtha* and *Beſtia*,

* *If but one Tribune was refractary, all the reſt cou'd do nothing.*

ſtia, with the reſt whom the Proceeding had made uneaſy, reſum'd a new Aſſurance and Life.

There happen'd to reſide in *Rome* at this Juncture a certain *Numidian*, by name *Maſſiva*, that was a Son of *Guluſſa*, and Grandchild of *Maſiniſſa*, and who becauſe he had taken part againſt *Jugurtha* while the Kings were at Variance, thought it convenient on the Surrender of *Cirta*, and the Murder of *Atherbal*, to fly out of *Africa*. *S. Albinus*, who together with Q. *Minucius Rufus* had been choſen Conſul the Year after *Beſtia*, put it in the Head of this Man, ſeeing he was of the Blood of *Maſiniſſa*, to take the Advantage of that Terror, and Odium which *Jugurtha* was under for his Villanies, and ſollicite the Senate for the Kingdom of *Numidia*. The bottom was, that the Conſul wou'd be doing, and was fond of any War or Diſturbance rather than remain idle in his Office. For the Province of *Numidia* had fallen to him, as that of *Macedonia* had to *Minucius*. *Maſſiva* having begun to ſtir in the Matter, and *Jugurtha* perceiving that he could not rely upon the Aids of his Partizans, in regard that the Guilt which ſome of 'em were under, and the ſcandalous Character or Timorouſneſs of others hinder'd their doing him much Service, he directs *Bomilcar* his next Kinſman, and a truſty Agent on all Occaſions, with a Sum of Money, the Inſtrument he had wrought with in accompliſhing moſt of his other Matters, to hire Ruffians to aſſaſſinate *Maſſiva*, but to do it with all the Privacy poſſible; and if they found the latter impracticable, then to diſpatch him any way in the World. *Bomilcar* in Execution of his Orders quickly picks up a Crew of Fellows that were well vers'd in that ſort of Trade; who having throughly informed themſelves of his goings out and comings in, and of all his Hours and Places of Reſort, found an Opportunity to attack him; but one of 'em falling upon him raſhly before the Coaſt was clear, and killing him, was laid hold

on; and being urg'd by ſeveral, but chiefly by the Conſul *Albinus* to diſcover who had employ'd him, reveal'd all. Whereupn *Bomilcar* was adjudg'd a Criminal by the clear Rules of natural Juſtice; without proceeding on the Law of Nations, becauſe he came to *Rome* with his Maſter, on a Promiſe from the Publick of ſafe Conduct. *Jugurtha*, tho' clearly the Author of the Villany, had the Confidence to endeavour to outface it, till he found the thing was known and reſented too far for Money or Intereſt to avail him. Upon which, tho' on the proſecuting of *Bomilcar* he had given in fifty of his Friends as Security for his being forth coming, yet more concern'd for his Kingdom than the Sureties, he ſent him away privately to *Numidia*, for fear that if he ſhou'd ſuffer him to be ſacrific'd, 'twou'd diſcourage the reſt of his Subjects from obeying him. A few Days after he follow'd himſelf, being order'd by the Senate to depart out of *Italy*. And 'tis ſaid that while he was upon the Road, after looking ſeveral times back towards *Rome* without ſpeaking, he at laſt broke out into theſe Words, *Mercenary City, and ready for Deſtruction, as ſoon as Buyers can be found to take thee!*

Albinus upon this renewing of the War, beſtirs himſelf for Proviſions, Money, and all things elſe that were neceſſary for an Army, and tranſports 'em with all Speed into *Africa*. For which Countrey a ſhort while after he ſet out in Perſon himſelf, to the end that either by beating the Enemy, forcing him to ſurrender, or by other Means he might be able to put an end to the War before the Day for Election of new Magiſtrates came about, which was not then very far off. But *Jugurtha*, tho' he talk'd of ſurrendring, made it his buſineſs on the other hand to defer it from one time to another, and to find out new Pretences for Delay. This Day he wou'd promiſe to do it, and the next decline it, as afraid to venture. Sometimes he wou'd retire before the Enemy,

Enemy, and then that his Army might not be discouraged, face about, and be offensive again. By such alternate and false Shews of War and Peace did he amuse the Consul. Yet some there were who thought that *Albinus* was not ignorant of *Jugurtha*'s Meaning; and considering the Vigour he shew'd at first, believ'd such a spinning out of the War must needs be owing to an affected Slackness in him, more than to any Dexterity in the Enemy. But the Time before mentioned being lapsed, and the Day for electing Magistrates come, *Albinus* departed from the Camp for *Rome*, leaving the Army with his Brother *Aulus* to command as Legate during his Absence.

It happen'd, the Affairs of the Commonwealth were at this Time extremely embaras's'd by the fierce Contentions of the Tribunes at *Rome*, two of whom, *P. Lucullus* and *L. Annius*, notwithstanding the Opposition of their Collegues, would continue in their Office beyond their Term: The Dispute concerning which Affair kept off the Elections for a whole Year. Whereupon *Aulus* flattering himself that by this Delay he had Time given him either to finish the War with *Jugurtha*, or extort Money from him by the Terror of his Arms, draws out his Men from their Winter Quarters in the Month of *January* for an Expedition; and by long Marches in a rigorous Season presents himself before *Suthul*, a Town where the King's Treasure was deposited. And tho' 'twas impossible to take or besiege it, because of the Weather and the Situation of the Place, (for the Walls were built on the Extremity of a Cliff, and all around was a low Flat, which the Overflowing of the Winter Showers had turn'd into a perfect Morass,) yet by Way of Bravado to scare the King, or else blinded by a covetous Desire to become Master of the Booty in the Place, he erects Vines, throws up Works, and provides every Thing necessary for a Siege. On the other Hand, *Jugurtha*, perceiving the Vanity

and Inexperience of the Legate, cunningly heightens and ſooths him in his Madneſs, ſends him Ambaſſadors to deſire Peace, and retires (himſelf) into Woods and Corners, as if afraid to look him in the Face. This Management ſo wrought upon *Aulus* that, believing he ſhould bring the King to ſubmit, he drew off from before *Suthul*, and followed the Mock-flight of the Enemy into Countries he was unacquainted with, and wherein therefore he could not be ſure when his Conduct was right or wrong. In the Interim, *Jugurtha* had crafty Emiſſaries continually at work to debauch the Army, and chiefly to bribe the Centurions and Captains (ſome) to come over to him by Deſertion, and (others) on a Signal to betray their Poſts. After he had prepared all Things to his Mind, on a ſudden, and without being dream'd of by *Aulus*, he comes upon him in Dead of Night, and ſurrounds his Camp with a great Army. The *Roman* Soldiers ſurpriz'd by the Alarm, fought (ſome) for Places to hide in, and others betook themſelves to their Arms; Part ſhook and trembled for Fear, and others encouraged and heartned up the timorous; while the *Numidians* in vaſt Numbers thunder'd upon 'em on all Sides. The Sky was quite over-caſt with Clouds, the Night dark, and all Things in Confuſion: So that, in ſhort, the braveſt among them knew not which was the ſafeſt Courſe, whether to defend themſelves or to fly. In the mean Time, among thoſe that had been corrupted, a *Ligurian* Cohort, with two Troops of *Thracian* Horſe, and ſome common Soldiers revolted to the King; and the firſt Centurion of the third Legion admitting the Enemy at that Quarter which he had taken upon him to make good, the *Numidians* pour'd in like a Torrent; which put our Men to ſuch a ſcandalous Rout, that a great Part of 'em throwing down their Arms, fled for Security to the next Hill. The Night, and an Eagerneſs after Plunder,

Plunder, retarded the Enemy from purſuing their Victory. However, *Jugurtha* the next Morning coming to a perſonal Parley with *Aulus*, told him, That tho' he had him and his Army hemm'd in by Famine and the Sword, yet conſidering the Inconſtancy of human Affairs, he was willing to diſmiſs them all with their Lives, provided they firſt paſt under the Yoke, enter'd into a firm Peace with him, and departed *Numidia* in ten Days. Conditions! which tho' they were hard to be digeſted, and to the laſt Degree diſhonourable to our Army, yet under the Fears of Death were ſubmitted to; and a Peace was concluded to the King's Mind.

When the News of this arriv'd at *Rome*, the City was fill'd with Dread and Lamentation: Some bewail'd the Honour of the Empire; and others, who were unacquainted with War, began to fear for their very Liberty: But all were incens'd againſt *Aulus*; yet chiefly they who had been brave in Battels, who cried 'twas a Shame that a Man in Arms ſhould chuſe rather to preſerve himſelf by a baſe Surrender, than by the Sword in his Hand. The Conſul *Albinus* being apprehenſive that this Reſentment of his Brother's Miſcarriage might reach himſelf, and bring him into Danger, conſulted the Senate on the Validity of the Peace; and in the Interim levied Recruits for the Army, ſent to the Allies and the *Latines* for Aid, and made the greateſt Haſte in the World to have all Things ready to renew the War. The Senate came to a moſt juſt Reſolution, That without a Power from them and the People no Peace could be made that was binding. But the Popular Tribunes hindring the Conſul from carrying with him his new rais'd Forces, he went in a few Days to *Africa*. For the Army, according to the Articles with *Jugurtha*, had quitted *Numidia*, and winter'd in the Province. As ſoon as *Albinus* was got into the Camp, tho' his Soul

Soul burn'd with an impatient Deſire to march immediately in queſt of the Enemy, and repair the Diſgrace which his Brother had contracted, yet finding that, over and above being routed, the Soldiers were corrupted for want of Diſcipline, and become very licentious and diſſolute, he determin'd, as Things were, to lie ſtill.

During this *C. Mamilius Limetanus*, one of the Popular Tribunes at *Rome*, propos'd to the Commons to paſs a Vote for proceeding againſt all thoſe who had any Ways abetted *Jugurtha* in his diſobeying the Decrees of the Senate; all ſuch as in their Embaſſies or Generalſhips had received any Money of him; ſuch as had deliver'd back the Elephants and Deſerters; and laſtly, thoſe who of their own Heads had preſumed to make any Agreement with the Enemy. Now ſome of theſe from a Conſcience of their Guilt, and others afraid of the Fury of the People, durſt not openly oppoſe the Vote, but were forced to make a Shew of approving this and every Thing of the like Tendency, yet gave it under-hand by their Friends, and eſpecially their *Italian* Allies and the *Latines*, all the Obſtruction that poſſibly they could. On the other Hand, 'tis almoſt incredible how zealous the Commonalty were in the Affair, and with what Vehemence they voted, commanded, decreed, and inſiſted on the Proſecution, more out of a Pique againſt the Nobles, who were chiefly aim'd at by this Act, than a true Concern for the Good of the Publick; ſo very predominant was the Spirit of Faction. But while the People were inſulting the Nobility, and they ſcar'd, and flying before them, the City being at the ſame Time in the Conſternation before mentioned, *M. Scaurus*, who, we told you, had been *Beſtia*'s Legate, finding there were three Commiſſioners to be nam'd for putting *Mamilius*'s Act in Execution, dextrouſly got himſelf to be one of the Number. But the Proſecution

was

was manag'd ſo violently, and with ſuch licentious Clamour of the Populace, that being in their Turn got uppermoſt, they treated the Nobles with the ſame Inſolence which the latter had ſo often us'd towards the Commons.

This Practice of the Senate and Populace's ſetting up two Parties in *Rome*, with all the Corruptions that follow'd thereupon, took Beginning not many Years before from Idleneſs, and abounding in thoſe Riches which Mankind are ſo vainly fond of: For before the City of *Carthage* was deſtroy'd, the People and Fathers tranſacted the Affairs of the Republick with Moderation and Unity; nor had Fellow Citizens any Contentions for Superiority over each other: The Fear they ſtood in of the common Enemy kept up a good Underſtanding among 'em. But after the Ground of that Dread was once taken out of the Way, Ambition and Wantonneſs, the Effects of Proſperity, immediately ſprung up to corrupt them; inſomuch that that very Peace which they ſo much wiſhed for while in Diſtreſs, prov'd a greater Misfortune to them when they came to enjoy it than the War had been: For the Nobles converted their Dignity into Tyranny, and the People their Liberty into Licentiouſneſs; every one rapping and rending for himſelf; and the City being ſplit into two Parties, the Commonwealth that lay in the Middle was ſure to be mangled and torn in Pieces. But the Faction of the Nobles was moſt powerful; for the Strength of the Commons being not ſo united, but diſpers'd among Multitudes, could dō little; and the Adminiſtration of all Affairs, both of War and Peace, was in the Hands of a few. The Exchequer, the Provinces, Offices of Magiſtracy, Honours, and Triumphs, were at their Diſpoſal: But the People were kept under by Poverty, together with hard Service in the Armies: And while the Generals, and a few great ones, engroſs'd the Spoils and

Booty

Booty of their Wars, the Parents and Families of the poor Soldiers were obliged to turn out of Houſe and Home at the Pleaſure of any overgrown Fellow to whom they had the ill Luck to be Neighbours. Thus Avarice, in Conjunction with Power, invaded, polluted, and made Prize of whatever it could lay its Hands upon; trampled on every Thing that was ſacred or juſt, and exceeded all manner of Bounds, till it threw it ſelf into great Miſeries: For as ſoon as there were found among the Nobles ſome who preferr'd true Glory to That of exerciſing an unjuſt Dominion, the City of *Rome* was all in a Flame, and the fierce Combuſtions of Civil Diſſention began to break forth with a Thunder, like the Mingling of Heaven and Earth together. For when *Tiberius* and *Caius* (*Gracchi*), whoſe Anceſtors had done much for the State in the *Carthaginian* and other Wars, began to aſſert the Rights of the People, and to lay open the Oppreſſions of the few, the Nobility knowing themſelves guilty, and not a little dreading the Conſequences, endeavour'd (what) by their Allies and the *Latines*, and (what) by the *Roman* Knights themſelves, (whom the Hopes of Admittance into their Order had brought off from the Intereſt of the Commons,) to oppoſe the *Gracchi* with Might and Main: And firſt *Tiberius*, who was a popular Tribune, and a few Years after his Brother *Caius*, one of the Triumvirs for tranſporting Colonies, and who went on with the ſame Undertaking, were with *M. Fulvius Flaccus* knock'd in the Head. But it muſt be acknowledged the two *Gracchi* were ſo impatient to obtain their Point, that they wanted Temper in the Proſecution of it. On the other Hand, had the Great Ones been Patriots, they ſhould rather have yielded any Thing that was juſt, than maintain'd their Authority by Violence and Outrage: But the Nobles having gotten the better, us'd their Victory with a full Swing; deſtroy'd or baniſh'd

banish'd Multitudes of the People, and made themselves more terrible than ever, but without acquiring any more Power; a Sort of Conduct, that frequently proves the Ruin of very considerable States, while their Parties endeavour to master each other at any Rate, and take Care to revenge themselves on the vanquish'd Side with the last Barbarity. But if in representing the Heats and Proceedings of the several Factions in *Rome*, I should enter into a full Detail of them, or attempt to answer the Plenty of my Subject, Time wou'd sooner fail me than Matter, and therefore I return to the Thread of my History.

Some Time after the Rout of our Army, and the infamous Peace agreed to by *Aulus*, *Metellus* and *Silanus* were chosen Consuls: And in allotting the Provinces, that of *Numidia* fell to *Metellus*, a Man of Action; and tho' an Enemy to the Populace, yet of a clear and untainted Reputation with all Sides. As soon as ever he was settled in his Office, knowing that his Collegue would be jointly concern'd with him in all Matters but the War with *Jugurtha*, he applied his Thoughts to the carrying on the latter: Wherein, not thinking it safe to rely much on the old Army, he immediately made new Levies, sent for Auxiliaries from all Parts, made Preparations of Arms, Horses, and the other necessary Utensils of War; got together Abundance of Provisions; and, in fine, every Thing that might help in a War which would ask to be manag'd several Ways, and require a great many Sorts of Things: To furnish the Consul with all which, the Allies and the *Latines*, by Command of the Senate, the foreign Princes of their own Accord, and lastly the whole City in general with the greatest Zeal and Emulation, contributed. *Metellus* having gotten all Things in Readiness, according to his Wishes, parted for *Numidia*, leaving the City in great Hopes, in regard they knew him not only

Master

Maſter of many ſurpaſſing Qualifications, but above all that he bore a Mind that was Proof againſt all the Aſſaults of Money; which they look'd on as no little Matter, conſidering how in all the former Campaigns their own Forces in *Numidia* had been foil'd, and thoſe of the Enemy ſtrengthen'd and encourag'd through the Avarice only of ſome Magiſtrates. On his Arrival in *Africa* the Army was reſign'd to him by *Spurius Albinus*, the Pro-Conſul; but debauch'd, weak, and quite out of Heart; capable neither of enduring Fatigue, nor couragious to look Danger in the Face; prompter of their Tongues than they were of their Hands; daring enough to prey upon their Friends, but a Prey themſelves when attack'd by an Enemy; and, to ſay all in a ſhort Word, without ſuch a Thing as Diſcipline among 'em. The new General was more concern'd to obſerve this great Corruption in the Army, than encouraged to hope for any Thing conſiderable from ſuch Forces, tho' ever ſo numerous. And therefore, though he knew that the deferring of the Summer Elections had ſhorten'd his Time, and that the Eyes of his Countreymen were all upon him, expecting great Effects from his Management, he reſolv'd not to enter upon Action before he had again harden'd the Soldiers, and reduc'd 'em to the ſtrict Diſcipline of their Anceſtors: For *Albinus* having determin'd with himſelf (being aw'd by the Foil which had been given his Brother) not to venture out of the Province during ſo much of the Summer as he commanded, kept the Army in ſtanding Camps till oblig'd either by reaſon of Stench, or for want of Forage, to break up. Beſides, there was no Care taken for a conſtant Guard, as is us'd in War. Every one ſtraggled from his Colours as he pleas'd; and the Scullions of the Camp mingling with the Soldiers, rambled the Countrey Night and Day plundering the Villages, pillaging the Fields, and carrying off Booties

Booties of Men and Cattel, which they afterwards barter'd with the Merchants for Wine. And as for their Allowances of Corn, they would ſell them, and buy in their Bread every Day as they us'd it. In a Word, whatever can be thought upon that you will call irregular and ſcandalous in an Army, might be found in this, and a great deal more. Now I find *Metellus* to have been as prudent and great a Man on this nice Occaſion, as he was in the Art of Fighting it ſelf; tempering himſelf with the exacteſt Conduct between an eager Deſire of Reformation, and uſing too ſtrict a Hand to effect it: For by the firſt Edict he put out, he prohibited all the Encouragements to Sloth: As, that no Suttlers ſhould have the Liberty to ſell any Bread or Fleſh ready dreſs'd; that no Scullions ſhould follow the Army; and that no common Soldier ſhould preſume, either in the Camp, or when upon a March, to uſe any Slave or Beaſt of Carriage. There were alſo ſeveral other Regulations which he made with great Skill and Dexterity. Moreover, he would almoſt daily decamp, and march through rough and uncommon Ways; make the Soldiers throw up Intrenchments, as if they had an Enemy cloſe by them; ſet Guards, and relieve them often; and go the Rounds himſelf with his Legates. On a March he would ſometimes be in the Van, ſometimes appear in the main Body, and by and by he would viſit the Rear, to ſee that there were no Stragglers from the Ranks; but that all march'd in a Body with their Colours, and carried their Proviſions as well as Arms. And thus, not ſo much by puniſhing the Abuſes in the Army, as by preventing them for the future, he reduc'd it quickly to a perfect Diſcipline.

Jugurtha being made acquainted by his Spies with theſe Courſes which *Metellus* took, and moreover aſſured from *Rome* of his Integrity, began to doubt the Succeſs of his Affairs, and to think of fur-

ſurrendering in good earneſt: And therefore diſpatch'd Ambaſſadors to the Conſul, with Offers to give up every Thing to the *Romans*, without capitulating for any Thing more than the ſaving his own and his Childrens Lives. But *Metellus* knowing by long Experience the *Numidians* to be a perfiduous People, and extremely given to new Things, diſcourſed the Ambaſſadors every one apart; and after ſounding their Inclinations, and perceiving them capable to be wrought upon, perſuades 'em by extraordinary Promiſes to conſent to deliver *Jugurtha* into his Hands alive, if poſſible, or at leaſt dead: But for what other Anſwer he returned, he gave it them openly at a publick Audience. In a few Days after he enters *Numidia* with a well appointed and reſolute Army: Where, quite contrary to the Countenance of War, he found the Cottages full of People, the Fields of Cattel, and the Huſbandmen at Work. The King's Officers came out of the Towns and Villages to welcome him; proffering to ſupply him with Carriages and Proviſions, and to do whatever he ſhould pleaſe to command. But *Metellus* for all theſe fair Shews was never a whit the leſs wary, but march'd with as much Order and Circumſpection, as if there had been an Enemy ready to fall on him; and ſent out Parties every Way to ſee that the Coaſt was clear of Treachery, ſuſpecting that theſe Appearances of ſurrendring were only a Contrivance to draw him into Ambuſhes. Wherefore, with ſome of the nimbleſt Cohorts, and a pick'd Body of Archers and Slingers, he march'd himſelf in the Front of the Army, leaving his Legate *Marius* with the Cavalry to bring up the Rear, and diſtributing the Auxiliary Horſe to each Wing, under Command of the Tribunes of the Legions, and Officers of the Cohorts; to the end, that by mixing them with the light-arm'd Foot, the Enemy's Horſe might

might be the better repuls'd, let them fall on which Way they would. For *Jugurtha* was a Man of ſo many Stratagems, and ſo throughly acquainted with the Situation of the Countrey, that whether he was moſt dangerous at a Diſtance or preſent, treating Peace or in an actual War, was no eaſy Matter to determine.

There ſtood not far from the Road which *Metellus* took in his March a Town of *Jugurtha*'s, called *Vacca*, the moſt celebrated Mart of the whole Kingdom, and where a great many *Italian* Merchants both dwelt and reſorted for the Sake of Trade. The Conſul to try the *Numidian* Sincerity, and alſo from a View that this Place might be of good Uſe to him, made it a Garriſon, and demanded a Contribution of Corn and other neceſſary Things for the War; believing, as he had Reaſon to do, that the great Number of *Italians* there, and the Plenty of Proviſions would ſupply his Army, and alſo enable him to keep what he had conquer'd. *Jugurtha* in the Midſt of theſe Tranſactions ſent freſh Ambaſſadors to *Metellus*, to beg for Peace more earneſtly than before; offering to give every Thing up to him, except his own and his Childrens Lives: But theſe too, as well as the former, were return'd back, with Temptations from the Conſul to betray their Maſter. And as to the Peace which the King ſued for, he neither poſitively refuſed, nor granted it; but held him in Hand, in Expectation that the Ambaſſadors would execute the Promiſes he had gained from them. *Jugurtha* comparing the Deeds and Speeches of *Metellus* together, and finding himſelf attack'd with his own Weapons; in as much as Peace was pretended in Words, but in Fact a vigorous War was carried on; his chief City in the Hands of the *Romans*; the Enemy become acquainted with his Countrey, and his Subjects ſollicited to revolt from him; he reſolved, compell'd to

to it, to fight it out. Wherefore, having informed himſelf which Way the Enemy were marching, and conceiving Hopes from the Nature of the Ground that he ſhould find an Opportunity to defeat them, he draws together all the Troops and other Force he could poſſibly make, and by private Ways, and a ſhorter Cut, gets before *Metellus*'s Army.

Now there was in that Part of *Numidia*, which upon the dividing it fell to *Atherbal*, a River riſing ſouthward, called *Muthul*; near Twenty thouſand Paces from whence was a great Mountain (of the ſame Length) that was wild, and altogether uncultivated: From about the Middle of which there grew out another Hill to an immenſe Height, which was covered over with wild Olives, Myrtles, and ſuch other Sorts of Trees as are natural to a barren and ſandy Soil: But the Plain between that and the River was all a Deſert, and without Water, except the Parts of it that border'd on the Stream; for thoſe were ſet pretty thick with Buſhes, and abounded alſo with Cattel and Huſbandmen. Now on this Hill, at the Foot of which, and acroſs the Mountain, the Road ran, *Jugurtha* ſat down with his Army, extending his Line as far as was poſſible; and after giving the Command of the Elephants and Part of the Infantry to *Bomilcar*, with particular Orders what he ſhould do, he went (himſelf) with all the Cavalry, and the Reſidue of the Foot, who were pick'd Men, and took Poſt nearer to the Mountain: Then riding from Rank to Rank, "He beſeech'd and conjur'd 'em "to call up the Memory of their former Valour "and late Victory, and with the ſame Reſolution "to defend themſelves and the Kingdom of *Numidia* from the Avarice of the *Romans*: Telling "'em they were only to deal with ſuch as they "had once already forc'd under the Yoke; that tho' there was now a new Leader, the Men "ſtill

" ſtill continued the ſame; that all that the greateſt " General could do by Way of Precaution, he had " taken Care for; that he had made Choice of the " upper Ground; that they knew the Situation of " the Place, which the Enemy was utterly igno- " rant of; that they were not over-match'd in " Numbers, nor to fight with Superiors in the " Art of War; that therefore they ought to be " reſolute, and prepar'd to attack the *Romans* on " the Signal given; and that this was the Day " which would finiſh their Conqueſts, and put a " Period to all their Toils, or prove the Begin- " ning of greater Miſeries." Then he ſingled out all thoſe he had rewarded with Money or Preferment for their Valour, put 'em in Mind of the Favours he had done 'em, and ſet 'em in View of the reſt of the Army, as Examples of Bravery, and Patterns for Encouragement. In a Word, he dextrouſly addreſs d himſelf to every Man's particular Temper; and what by promiſing and beſeeching ſome, and threatening others, endeavoured to excite 'em.

In the mean Time, they diſcover'd marching acroſs the Mountain *Metellus* with his Army, who did not dream of his Enemies being near him: But ſoon obſerving an odd Sight, (for tho' the *Numidians* lay cloſe, both Men and Horſes, behind the Buſhes, the Skreen was too low to hinder any Body from taking Notice there was ſomething uncommon; and yet the Nature of the Place was ſuch, and they had hid themſelves and their Enſigns ſo cunningly, that it was not poſſible to deſcry them fully,) was at firſt doubtful what it ſhould be: But having quickly ſatisfied himſelf how the Matter ſtood, he halted, and preſently changing the Order of his March, made his Flank which was next the Enemy thrice as ſtrong as it was before; placed ſeveral Spearmen and Slingers between the Battalions or Maniples of Foot,

Foot, planted all the Cavalry in the Wings; and after a brief Excitation to his Soldiers, as the Shortneſs of the Time would give him Leave, cauſed the Army in this Figure to file off to the Left towards the Plain.

But when he perceived the *Numidians* were quiet, and delay'd coming down from the Hill, he gave Orders to his Legate *Rutilius*, with the light Cohorts, and Part of the Horſe, to march down before towards the River, and there ſecure a Place to encamp in; fearing that the Army might otherwiſe periſh for want of Water, which was very ſcarce, and becauſe of the (then) Time of the Year; and expecting that the Enemy wou'd pour down, and by frequent attacking him in Flank or Rear, do their utmoſt to impede his Deſign; and to wear out his Men with Fatigue and Drought, ſince they doubted of vanquiſhing by their Arms. After *Rutilius* followed the Conſul, tho' (becauſe of the Enemy and the Ground) but ſlowly, in the Manner indeed as he had moved before. *Marius* had the bringing up of the Rear, while himſelf march'd with the Horſe on the Left, who were then made the Van of the Army. When *Jugurtha* ſaw that *Metellus*'s Rear was paſt the Front of his own Men, he poſſeſs'd himſelf with Two thouſand Foot of the Mountain from whence the *Romans* had deſcended, in order to prevent their regaining it, and ſecuring themſelves upon it, if routed; and immediately after giving the Signal for his Men to attack, he fell upon the Enemy: Some of them made Havock in their Rear, others charg'd 'em on the Right and Left, preſſing furiouſly upon all Quarters, and attempting to break the Ranks of the *Romans*; the moſt puſhing of whom were eluded by the Shifting this Way and that of the *Numidians* of doing much Execution again, and were wounded at a Diſtance without being able to return the Wounds, or to

cloſe

close with their Adversaries: For the Horse, who were fore-instructed by *Jugurtha*, would not, as the *Romans* advanced against them, keep in a Body together, but disperse; by which Means, if they could not deter the Enemy from following, who must scatter to pursue 'em, they wheel'd about, and being more in Numbers, surpriz'd and charg'd 'em on every Side. And then, if the Hill in this flying Fight were more commodious for 'em than the Plain, their Horses would nimbly scour with with their Riders through the Bushes, being us'd to the Exercise, and leave the *Romans* incumber'd behind in Shrubs and Thickets they were unacquainted with. In the mean Time, the Posture of Things was uncertain, bloody, direful, and confus'd. The Men being scatter'd from each other, some fled and others pursu'd, without keeping to Ensigns or Ranks; but according as any one was attack'd, he repuls'd his Adversary as well as he could. Arms, Lances, Horses, and Soldiers, Enemies and Friends, were mingled together: Nothing was acted by Counsel or Command, but Chance ruled and directed all; and the Day was now pretty far spent, and yet the Event of the Battel doubtful. But the Armies beginning at length to tire, as faint with Fighting and the Heat together, and *Metellus* observing the *Numidians* to flag, he gets his Men by Degrees into a Body, reduces them into their old Ranks, and plants four Legionary Cohorts over-against the Enemy's Foot, a great many of whom had for Wearines repos'd themselves on the upper Ground. Then he begg'd and conjur'd his Men that they would not fail him at the last Pinch, nor suffer themselves to be beaten by an Enemy which it self was just ready to fly; adding, that they had no Camp nor Fortress to make to, if they ran away; but must look to be saved by their Arms only. In the mean Time *Jugurtha* was not at all wanting on

the other Side; but rode about, encourag'd his Soldiers, brought them on to a freſh Attack; charg'd in Perſon every where with a pick'd Body to make an Impreſſion; ſupported his own Men that were ſtraggering; preſs'd ſuch of the Enemy as waver'd; and as for thoſe whom he could not break, he held them in Play by a diſtant Fight. Thus contended with each other theſe two great and accompliſh'd Generals, perfectly match'd in their own Perſons, but not ſo in other Reſpects: For *Metellus* had much the better Soldiers, but then the Ground was diſadvantagious to him, and every Thing elſe, except only That of Men, was on *Jugurtha*'s Side. But at laſt the *Romans* conſidering with themſelves that they had neither any Place to retreat to, nor could come to a cloſe Fight with the Enemy, and alſo that the Evening was drawing on, charg'd (as they were order'd) up the Hill; of which Poſt when the *Numidians* were bereft, they were ſoon routed, tho' but few ſlain; for moſt of 'em eſcap'd by the Swiftneſs of their Heels, and their Enemy's Unacquaintedneſs with the Countrey.

In the mean Time, as ſoon as *Bomilcar*, to whom had been given, as we ſaid before, the Command of the Elephants and Part of the Infantry, perceived *Rutilius* to be paſs'd by him, he ſteals his Men by Degrees into the Plain; and while the Legate was haſting to the River (to which we told you he had been detach'd) with great Silence, as the Caſe requir'd, he puts his Forces in Order of Battel; not omitting at the ſame Time to ſend out Spies to obſerve the Enemy. And when he underſtood that *Rutilius* was encamped, and thoughtleſs of all Danger, and heard moreover the great Noiſe that came from the Battel *Jugurtha* was engaged in; fearing that the Legate upon hearing it too might march back to aſſiſt his Countreymen; To hinder him from it, he extends his Line, which before, di-

ſtruſting

ſtruſting the Valour of his Men, was embattell'd thick and cloſe together, and thus advances towards *Rutilius*. The *Romans* perceiving all on a ſudden a very great Cloud of Duſt, at firſt believ'd it to be rais'd by the Wind that ſwept it up from the ſandy Soil; for they could not ſee through the Plain clearly, becauſe of the thick Buſhes it was ſet with. But finding it to be a continued Thing, and to come nearer and nearer to them, according as *Bomilcar*'s Army approach'd, they gueſs'd the Cauſe, and running to their Arms, drew up to defend their Camp. As ſoon as the Enemy was come up, the Battel joined with a might Shout: And the *Numidians* ſtood to it for ſome Time, as long they had any Dependence on their Elephants; but when they ſaw them entangled in the Thickets, and ſo at the Enemy's Mercy, they fled, and by the Favour either of the Twilight or Hills, and throwing down their Arms, moſt of them eſcaped. Forty Elephants were killed on the Spot; and the reſt (being only four) were taken. The *Romans*, though much fatigued with their March, with the ordering their Camp, and the late Engagement, yet becauſe *Metellus* tarried longer than they thought he would, advanced to meet him, marching along with great Reſolution, and in Order of Battel, as they then were; the *Numidian* Subtilty being ſo great, as not to allow of the leaſt Remiſſneſs. On the firſt Approach of the two Bodies, through the Darkneſs of the Night, and the Noiſe on each Side, like that of an Enemy coming on, they were both alarm'd, and in great Diſorder; and the Matter, for want of Conſideration, was like to have had the moſt fatal Iſſue: but that the Forlorns of each Army being ſent before, diſcover'd the Miſtake: And then their Fears were turn'd into Joy, and the Soldiers merrily call to one another; tell of their own Feats in the Battel, and hear their Fellows relate Theirs: And

not one, to be ſure, fails to cry up his own Valour to the Skies. For ſuch is the Condition of human Things, that in Caſe of Victory even Cowards ſhall brag: Whereas Defeat, on the other Hand, caſts a Reflection on the moſt Gallant.

Metellus reſted four Days in the Camp that his Legate had mark'd out; took Care for Recovery of the wounded; gave Rewards according to Cuſtom to ſuch of the Men as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves; made a Speech to the whole Army full of Praiſes and Thanks to 'em all; urg'd 'em to act with the ſame Bravery in what remained to be done, being little; adding, that as to the Conqueſt of their Enemy, they had fought for that ſufficiently already, and that their Toils to come would be only for Booty. Nevertheleſs, in the mean Time he ſent out Deſerters, and other Spies, to learn whither *Jugurtha* was retir'd; what Force he had got about him; how he brook'd his late Defeat; and what Deſigns he was carrying on. 'Twas found that he had made his Retreat into Woods and Faſtneſſes fortified by Nature, and raiſed an Army more numerous than the former, but ſuch a one as was weak and undiſciplin'd, and better ſkill'd in Huſbandry than War: The Reaſon was, that none of the *Numidians*, except only the Horſe-Guards, accompanied the King after the Rout, but every one went whither he pleaſed; it being no Diſgrace for their Soldiers ſo to do, becauſe its the Cuſtom. *Metellus* perceiving by this Intelligence, that *Jugurtha* had ſo much Stomach left, that the War would be renew'd, and nothing to be done in't but juſt as the King himſelf pleaſed; that he fought him not upon equal Terms; and that his Victories coſt him dearer than a Beating it ſelf did his Enemy; he reſolv'd not to concern himſelf further about fighting pitched Battels, but to manage the War in another Method. To which Purpoſe he marches his Army into

into the richeſt Part of *Numidia*; lays waſte the Countrey before him; takes and burns ſeveral Caſtles and Towns that were ſlightly fortified or ungarriſon'd; puts the male Youth to the Sword; and gives his Men a Liberty of Plunder. This ſtruck ſuch a Terror in the People, that they crowded in to make their Submiſſions, gave Hoſtages, ſupplied him with Corn, and all other Neceſſaries in Abundance; and receiv'd Garriſons in all Places that the Conſul thought fit to ſecure. Theſe Proceedings diſturb'd *Jugurtha* more than the Loſs of any Battel; in regard that he, whoſe only Advantage lay in making a flying War of it, was now obliged to follow his Adverſary, and to wage War in the Conqueſts of the *Romans*, though unable to defend the Reſidue of his own Territories. However, in this Diſtreſs of his Affairs he took the beſt Courſe that he could: And therefore order'd the Groſs of his Army to remain moſtly in one Place, and with only a pick'd Body of Horſe choſe (himſelf) to follow *Metellus*; and by Night-Marches and By-Roads found Means (when leaſt expected) to ſurprize the *Roman* Foragers and Stragglers; a great many of whom were killed naked and unarm'd, and ſeveral taken, and ſcarce a Man of them got off without ſome Mark of his Kindneſs in a Wound. Which done, and before ſuch Time as any Succours could be ſent from the Camp, the *Numidians* were vaniſh'd to the next Hills.

In the mean Time, there was very great Rejoicing at *Rome* on the News of *Metellus*'s Conduct and Succeſs; in regard that in managing himſelf and his Army he had kept up to the Diſcipline of the *Romans*; fought in diſadvantagious Ground, and yet been victorious by plain Valour; made himſelf Maſter of the Enemy's Countrey; and forced *Jugurtha*, who was grown inſolent through the Cowardice of *Aulus*, to ſeek for

Shelter, and owe his Safety to Flight and Deſerts. Wherefore the Senate appointed Thanks to the immortal Gods, for the Proſperity of their Arms. The City in a Conſternation before, and uneaſy about the Event of the War, chear'd up, and became jovial; and the Name of *Metellus* every where famous. Incited by which, he doubled his Vigour, purſued Conqueſt with the more Ardour, and made all the Haſte in the World; yet ſtill on his Guard againſt any Surprize. And laſtly, he forgot not the ballaſting Thought, That Envy treads on the Heels of Glory. Thus the more Reputation he won, the more increas'd his Vigilance and Cares: Nor after the laſt Attempt of *Jugurtha*, would he ſuffer his Men to ſtraggle for Plunder. And when he wanted Corn or Forage, he made a Detachment of all the Cavalry, with ſome Cohorts to cover the Foragers; led one Part of the Army himſelf, and left the other to *Marius*'s Care; deſtroy'd the Countrey moſtly by Fire, without looking much after Booty; encamped in two ſeveral Places at a ſmall Diſtance from each other: And if there was any Occaſion that requir'd the Force of the whole Army, they joined; but elſe, to ſpread the Terror of their Arms, and to drive the Countrey the better before them, they choſe to act in ſeparate Bodies.

In the mean Time, to obſerve their Motions, *Jugurtha* took his March by the Hills, watching for a fit Opportunity to attack them: And whereever he heard the *Romans* were to come, he took Care to poiſon the Springs, (which were ſcarce too,) and deſtroy the Forage. Sometimes he would ſhew himſelf to *Metellus*, and a little after be up with *Marius*: By and by he would fall on their Rear; and upon their facing about, vaniſh to the Hills: Then return, and alarm them again, now in one Part, and anon in another: Still declining

declining a ſet Battel; and yet he would let 'em have no reſt: Propoſing only by thus fatiguing them, to prevent their acting to any Purpoſe.

The *Roman* General finding himſelf ſo harraſſed by the crafty Management of the Enemy, and that he could not bring him to a fair Engagement, reſolv'd to lay Siege to *Zama*, a great City, and the chief Fortreſs of that Part of the Kingdom that it ſtood in; ſuppoſing, as he had Reaſon to do, that *Jugurtha* would march to relieve the Place; and that thereupon a Battel might follow. But the King learning the Deſign by Deſerters, got before *Metellus*'s Army by great Marches; and arriving at *Zama*, encouraged the Inhabitants to defend the City, and reinforced them with a Body of Deſerters, the moſt deſperate Fellows of all his Army; as knowing 'twas Death for 'em to flinch, and be taken. Moreover, he promiſed to come himſelf in due Seaſon with an Army to their Relief. Having thus ſettled his Affairs there, he retires into the privateſt Part of the Countrey; and ſoon after received Intelligence that *Metellus* in his March had detach'd *Marius* with a few Cohorts, to convoy a Quantity of Corn from *Sicca*, the firſt Town that had revolted from the King after his Defeat. Whereupon he haſted thither by Night, at the Head of a choſen Body of Horſe, and attack'd the *Romans* juſt as they were marching forth at the Gate; calling out at the ſame Time aloud to the Inhabitants to fall upon their Rear; telling them that Fortune did now preſent them with the Opportunity of a brave Exploit, which if they embraced, that for ever after he might enjoy his Kingdom in Peace, and they their Liberties without Diſturbance. And if *Marius* had not charged him immediately, and beſtirred himſelf to get out of the Place, the whole Town, or the greateſt Part, would have riſen upon him in Fa-

vour of the King; ſo ſtrangely fickle is the *Numidian* Temper. But *Jugurtha*'s Soldiers, who animated by their Prince ſtood to it for a little Time, feeling the Fury of the *Romans* doubled, fled with the Loſs of ſome of their Men; and *Marius* arrived ſafe at *Zama*.

This Town was ſituate in a Plain, and fortified better by Art than Nature, furniſh'd with a good Magazine and Garriſon, and provided in ſhort, with all Neceſſaries. *Metellus* having got all Things in Readineſs, as well as the Time and Ground would allow him, cauſes his Army to inveſt the Place, and appoints the Legates their ſeveral Poſts. After which, upon a Signal given, his Men ſet up a general Shout, which had not the Effect to terrify the *Numidians*, who, without being diſorder'd ſtood reſolute, and prepared to receive them: So the Storm began. The *Romans* after their ſeveral Ways fought (ſome) with Slings at a Diſtance, freſh Men continually ſuccceeding as the wounded or tir'd went off; others made cloſer Approaches (Part) to undermine the Walls, and (the reſt) to fix their Ladders for ſcaling, and diſpatch the Buſineſs with Sword in Hand. As for the Beſieged on the other Hand, they poured down Stones, Darts, Stakes, and Firebrands, on the Heads of the next Aſſailants. Nor did even thoſe who ſkulked at a Diſtance, notwithſtanding their Caution eſcape free; for the greateſt Part were wounded by the Darts that came from the Engines, or were thrown by Hand: Inſomuch that the Brave and the Coward Soldier both encounter'd the ſame Danger, though not with the ſame Honour to both.

During this Diſpute before *Zama*, the King at the Head of a great Army falls unexpectedly on the *Roman* Camp, and found means by the Remiſneſs of the Guard, who look'd for nothing leſs than an Enemy, to break in through one of the

the Turn-Pikes; which put our Men in a Conſternation, and every one upon ſhifting for himſelf, as the Manner is upon ſuch Surprizes. Some betook themſelves to their Heels, others to their Arms, and a great Part of them were ſlain, or at leaſt wounded. Of the whole Army not above Forty, remembring they were *Romans*, rallied together, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of a little Eminence, maintain'd it againſt all the Efforts of the Enemy to diſlodge them, and return'd the Darts that were thrown at them on the Senders, who being thick crowded together, hardly one that was flung back on them miſs'd of doing good Execution. Whenever the *Numidians* were ſo hardy as to come near them, they beſtirred themſelves, laying about them with the utmoſt Fury, and killing, ſlaying, and putting them to Flight. *Metellus* in the Heat of his Attack of the City hearing a Noiſe like Fighting behind him, turn'd his Horſe, and perceiving a Rout, and that the Fliers made towards himſelf, rightly judged them to be his own Men: Whereupon he firſt detached away all the Horſe to the Camp, and immediately diſpatched *C. Marius* with the Confederate Cohorts, beſeeching and conjuring him with Tears in his Eyes, by their mutual Friendſhip, and by the publick Welfare, not to ſuffer the Honour of his Arms after having been ſo victorious to be ſullied by any Diſgrace at laſt, nor to let the Enemy get clear of him without his taking a full Revenge. *Marius* quickly perform'd his Orders; and the *Numidians* were driven back to their Faſtneſſes; but being incumber'd by the Works of the Camp, while ſome tumbled over the Ramparts, and others by preſſing too thick and faſt to get off through the narrow Paſſages, hinder'd one another's Eſcape, a great Number of them was killed. *Metellus* not ſucceeding in the Storm, return'd with his Army

in the Evening to the Camp. The next Day before he went to renew the Aſſault, he drew up all his Cavalry by the Camp, and order'd them to be watchful on that Side where he expected *Jugurtha* would appear, and committed the Gates or Turn-Pikes with the Parts adjoining to the Guard of the Tribunes, and then marched himſelf to the Town, and attempted the Walls, as the Day before. Whilſt this was doing, *Jugurtha* on a ſudden, and as it were from an Ambuſh attacked the Camp. Our Front being a little ſurpriz'd were at firſt put into ſome Diſorder, but were ſoon ſupported by the other Troops: So that the *Numidians* could not have ſtood it, if it had not been for the great Execution done by their Foot, who were mingled with their Horſe; for the latter depending on this Intermixture did not charge as they uſed to do, by falling on and retiring again, but bore direct and firm on our Men, did their utmoſt to diſorder and break them, and ſo leave them (half overcome) a Prey to their Foot; who were ready at diſpatching them. At the ſame Time that this was tranſacting, the Diſpute before *Zama* was ſharp; every Legate and Tribune in his Poſt relying on himſelf, and not on his Fellows, made the greateſt Efforts that were poſſible. On the other Side, the Inhabitants made a vigorous Reſiſtance, flew to every Quarter to defend it, and were more eager upon mauling their Enemies, than mindful of ſaving their own Fleſh. A confuſed Noiſe of Rejoicings, of Groanings, and of Encouragements, was every where to be heard: The Sky rung with the Clattering of Arms; and Showers of Arrows fell on each Side. The Beſieged at length obſerving their Enemies to abate ſomething of the Heat of their Storm, made uſe of the Opportunity to take a View of the Fight at the Camp, and as *Jugurtha* prevail'd, or loſt Ground

Ground, you ſhould ſometimes perceive them to be overjoy'd, and by and by in a great Conſternation. Moreover, as far as they could be heard or ſeen by their Countreymen, they would call out to them, excite and encourage them, make Motions and Signs with their Hands, and wave their Bodies this Way and that, like Men avoiding or darting Weapons. This was no ſooner obſerv'd by *Marius* (for 'twas he that commanded in this Quarter) but he purpoſely ſlacken'd the Fury of his Men, feigning to be diffident of the Event of the Battel, and gave them more Leiſure than before to view the whole Tranſaction at the Camp. But while they were gazing intently at their Friends, he attacks the Walls with extreme Fury, in ſo much that the Soldiers mounting their Ladders, had almoſt gained the Top of the Works, when the Townſmen falling immediately to their Buſineſs, heav'd down Stones, plied them with Firebrands, and oppos'd them with all the Weapons they could meet with. For ſome Time our Men ſtood it; but at laſt ſome ſome of the Ladders breaking, and thoſe upon them being miſerably maim'd, the reſt ſhifting each as they could, but hardly any eſcaping free, and a great Part of them covered with Wounds, quitted the Aſſault, and Night put an End to the Fray on both Sides.

Metellus ſeeing ſuch ill Succeſs, and that he was not able to take the Town, nor yet to bring *Jugurtha* to a Battel without the Advantage of the Ground or an Ambuſh, and beſides, that the Summer was now ſpent, raiſed the Siege, and clapp'd Garriſons in ſuch Cities as had revolted to him, and were ſtrong either by Art or Nature, and the reſt of his Army he put into Winter-Quarters in the Province next to *Numidia*. But he did not give up his Time there (like ſome Commanders) to Luxury or Idleneſs; but finding

Force had prevailed but little; contriv'd to conquer the King by Stratagem, and to turn the Treachery of his Friends into Arms. To which End he tampers with *Bomilcar*, the Man who had been at *Rome* with *Jugurtha*, and had fled away diſhonourably from thence to avoid the Proceſs for murdering *Maſſiva*, after having given in Sureties for his fourth-coming; but who becauſe of the great Favour he was in with his Maſter was the ableſt to betray him; and by making him many large Promiſes got him firſt to a private Conference; and then giving his ſolemn Word, upon his bringing *Jugurtha* alive or dead to him, to procure the Senate to grant him Pardon, and the Enjoyment of all that he then had, he quickly wrought over the *Numidian*, who was both perfidious in his Nature, and alſo afraid that in caſe of Peace he himſelf by a ſpecial Article ſhould be deliver'd up as a Sacrifice to the *Romans*. Wherefore with the very firſt Opportunity, while *Jugurtha* was troubled, and bewailing his Misfortunes, he comes up to him with Tears in his Eyes, and conjures him to provide for himſelf and Children, and the *Numidian* Nation, that deſerved ſo well of him; puts him in Mind that they were always beaten, that Thouſands had been made Priſoners or killed, that the Countrey was waſted, and the Kingdom impoveriſh'd; that he had ſufficiently tried the Valour of his Men, and the good Will of his Fortune towards him: And in fine, intreats him to look to it, that his Subjects finding himſelf delay it don't conſult their Intereſt themſelves. By theſe and other the like Arguments he diſpoſes the King's Mind to a Surrender. Whereupon Commiſſioners were diſpatched to the General to let him know that *Jugurtha* was ready to pay Obedience to all his Commands, and without making any Conditions to deliver up himſelf and his Kingdom to his Generoſity.

Metellus presently sends for all of the Degree of Senators from their several Quarters, and holds a Council with them and others whom he thought ablest to assist on the Occasion; and agreeable to to the Resolutions thereof (herein keeping to the Way of our Ancestors) orders the Commissioners to tell their Master, he must send him 200000 Weight of Silver, all his Elephants, and some Arms and Horses. This Demand being presently complied with, the next was, That they should bring all the Deserters in Chains. A great Part of them were brought accordingly; but a few on the first Rumour of a Surrender had retired into *Mauritania* to King *Bocchus*. *Jugurtha*, after he was thus stripp'd of his Arms and Money, and the Flower of his Troops, and came in the last Place to be summon'd to yield himself to the Conqueror at *Tisidium*, began to stagger, and change his Mind, and from an inward Consciousness of his own Villanies to dread the Effects he knew he deserved. And after passing several Days without determining what to do, sometimes as quite tired with Misfortunes, preferring any Thing before War, and anon reflecting how very grievous the Fall would be from a Kingdom into Slavery, having still a great deal of Strength left, he resolves at length to renew the War. In the mean Time the Senate at *Rome*, at a Consult about the Command of the Provinces, had decreed that of *Numidia* to *Metellus*.

At the same Time *C. Marius* being by Accident at *Utica*, and sacrificing to the Gods, was told by the *Seer* there were Signs portending great and surprizing Things to attend him; and advis'd, whatever Designs he had conceiv'd, to trust the Gods, and pursue them boldly; to venture his Fortune upon all Occasions, and that all his Enterprizes would succeed to his Wishes. Now for some Time before this the Mind of *Marius* had been

been carried away with a very ſtrong Ambition for the Conſulate: And ſetting aſide the Antiquity of a Family, he had every Thing that might make good his Pretenſions; Induſtry, Probity, Frugality, and Courage, wonderful Skill in the Art of War, a Shunner of Pleaſure, and Deſpiſer of Riches, and covetous of nothing but only Glory. He was born and paſt his Childhood at *Arpinum*; and as ſoon as able to bear Arms, being, being averſe to the Studies of *Grecian* Eloquence and Town Refinements, he liſted in the Army; into which coming uncorrupted, and having the Advantage of good Diſcipline he quickly grew a moſt valuable Man. Wherefore when he firſt put up for Military Tribune at a Meeting of the Commons, though the greateſt Part of them knew not his Face, he became ſoon known by his Fame, and carried it by the Voices of all the Tribes. From the Time of entring into that Poſt he advanced from one Office to another, and acquitted himſelf ſo happily in each, that he always ſeem'd to deſerve a greater. But with all his Merit at that Juncture, (though he afterwards ran mad with Ambition,) he durſt not aim ſo high as the Conſulate; for though the People at that Time diſpoſed of moſt of the other Offices, yet the Nobles wholly engroſſing this, enjoy'd it by Turns among themſelves; and no Commoner, though ever ſo worthy or diſtinguiſh'd by brave Acts he had perform'd, was look'd on as qualified for that Dignity, but rather a great Diſparagement to it. *Marius* obſerving the Predictions of the Prieſt to agree ſo well with his own Ambition, deſired *Metellus* he might go to *Rome* in order to ſet up for the Conſulſhip. Now, though the General was a Man of Worth, and had many great and ſurpaſſing Qualities; yet he had withal the Vice of the Nobility, a Loftineſs of Mind, and Diſdain of others. He was therefore not a little ſurpriz'd

priz'd at his making ſo extraordinary a Requeſt, and adviſed him, as it were in a friendly Way, not to purſue a Deſign ſo raſh; telling him that there were ſome Things that were not fit to be aſpir'd to by every Body; that he had reaſon to be ſatisfied with his preſent Sphere; and in fine, that he ought to conſider well before he ask'd of the People of *Rome* what the Rules of the Government denied him. After he had urged this and more without being able to divert him from his Purpoſe, he told him at laſt that as ſoon as ever he could ſpare him from the Affairs of the Army, he ſhould go. *Marius* continuing afterwards to preſs him on the ſame Subject, 'tis reported he ſhould ſay, That he had no Need to be in ſo much Haſte, and that 'twould be Time enough for him to ſtand with his Son. Now the young Gentleman was then a Soldier with his Father *Metellus*, and about Twenty. This Return as it whetted *Marius* to proſecute his Intent but the more eagerly, ſo it highly incens'd him againſt *Metellus*. He gave himſelf entirely up to Ambition and Anger, the worſt of Counſellors; nor ſtuck at doing or ſaying any Thing that tended to the making himſelf popular: He indulg'd his Soldiers in their Winter-Quarters in greater Liberties than they us'd to have; talked reflectingly among the Merchants, who reſided in great Numbers at *Utica*, concerning *Metellus*'s Management of the War, and bragg'd what he would do himſelf; that if he could have but half the Army, he would ſoon bring *Jugurtha* in Chains; and that the Conſul ſpun out the War on Purpoſe, being naturally vain, of a regal Pride, and very deſirous to retain his Power. The Merchants were ready to believe all, their Trade ſuffering by the Continuance of the War; and thoſe who therefore deſire Peace, think there's never haſt enough made to it. Moreover, there being in our Army a certain

tain *Numidian*, by Name *Gauda*, a Son of *Manaſtabal*, and Grandchild of *Maſiniſſa*, and whom *Micipſa* had appointed by his Will the next in Remainder of the Kingdom of *Numidia*, but a but a Man eaten up with Diſeaſes to a Degree that affected his Underſtanding: And this Perſon having made Application for a Seat to be granted him next *Metellus*, and a little afterwards that the Conſul would aſſign him a Troop of *Roman* Horſe for his Guard, *Metellus* fairly refuſed him both; the firſt, becauſe the People of *Rome* never allowed it but to real Kings; and the latter, becauſe he thought it Leſſening to the *Roman* Horſe to attend a *Numidian*. Upon which *Marius* knowing him diſturb'd, comes to him, and offers him his Aſſiſtance to procure Satisfaction againſt the General for theſe Affronts which he had put upon him; blows up the Man, who by reaſon of his Maladies was ſcarce himſelf, with flattering Speeches; putting him in Mind that he was a Prince, a great Man, and the Grandſon of *Maſiniſſa*; that if *Jugurtha* were killed or taken, the Crown of *Numidia* would immediately be his; and that this ſhould quickly be brought to paſs were he but Conſul, and to manage the War. Theſe Diſcourſes, with the Hopes of a Peace, ſo wrought upon *Gauda*, and the Merchants and Soldiers, that they wrote Letters to their Friends at *Rome*, inveighing againſt the Conduct of *Metellus*, and deſiring that *Marius* might be made General. Thus in a generous Way, ſeemingly, and without the Scandal of his own ſeeking it, was the Conſulate ſollicited by many for *Marius*. Beſides, it happen'd at the ſame Time that the Populace, who had gotten the Advantage of the Nobles by *Mamilius*'s Law, were for ſetting up Commoners: So that every Thing went well for his Intereſt.

Jugurtha

Jugurtha having, as I ſaid before, laid aſide the Thoughts of ſurrendring, and reſolv'd upon renewing the War, beſtirs himſelf with the utmoſt Diligence; makes Preparations in all haſte; quickly levies a new Army; endeavours both by Promiſes and Threats to recover the Cities that had fall'n off from him; fortifies all his ſtrong Holds; provides Stores of Arms and Ammunition, in lieu of what he had deliver'd up; ſollicites the *Roman* Slaves to deſert to him, and tempts thoſe in the Garriſons with his Money: In a word, he leaves nothing undone, but eſſays all Things that might do him any Service.

Accordingly, in the City of *Vacca*, wherein *Metellus* had plac'd a Garriſon on Occaſion of *Jugurtha*'s pretending to ſubmit; the chief Inhabitants ſuffering themſelves to be wrought upon by the King's Importunities, and indeed having never been heartily his Enemies, form'd a Conſpiracy againſt the *Romans*: knowing that the common People, as is uſual, but more eſpecially amongſt the *Numidians*, being of a faithleſs and fickle Temper, inclin'd to Diſturbances, and affecting Changes, wou'd naturally join with them in the Thing. Having ſettled the Method, the Execution of it was agreed upon to be three Days after; becauſe there was then to be a great Feſtival that was ſolemniz'd over all *Africa*; and which wou'd therefore be rather thought a Day devoted to Diverſions and Luxury, than deſign'd for a Tragedy to be acted on. As ſoon as it came, they invited the Tribunes and Centurions of the Garriſon, with *Turpilius* the Governor, to an Entertainment at their ſeveral Houſes; where in the midſt of their Cups and Feaſting, they ſlew them every one but *Turpilius*. Then they fell upon the common Soldiers, who were ſtraggling here and there in the Streets, naked and unarm'd in reſpect of the Day, and as not having their Officers to look to them. The Rabble immediately

immediately roſe upon 'em alſo, being led to it partly by the Command of their Chiefs, and partly by their Love of Tumult it ſelf, and a Propenſity to Miſchief or any thing that was new; tho' without knowing the Buſineſs, or a Reaſon for't. The *Roman* Soldiers being thus ſurpriz'd, and doubtful what they had beſt do, ran in a Fright and Hurry to the Caſtle, where lay their Enſigns and Arms; but the Enemy having ſlip'd in before and ſecur'd the Gates, prevented their Entrance. And to add to their Diſtreſs, the Women and Children threw Stones and whatever they cou'd meet with down upon their Heads, from the Tops of the Houſes. So that there was no means of guarding againſt an Evil ſo various and uncertain, or reſiſting the very weakeſt of our Kind: But the Strong and Feeble, the Valiant and the Coward, were forc'd to ſuccumb by the ſame Death, without being able to revenge themſelves. In the Heat of this moſt direful Maſſacre, wherein the *Numidians* glutted their Fury, the Gates of the Town being all ſhut, the Governour himſelf was the only Man who got away without being hurt; but whether through the Kindneſs of his Hoſt, or by Chance, or a private Compact, is unknown. However it was, we may look upon him as a Man of no manner of Honour, for preſerving ſo poorly his own Life, while a whole *Roman* Garriſon periſh'd.

When the News hereof were brought to *Metellus*, after being penſive for ſome time, he retir'd from Company very much concern'd: But Anger getting the better of his Grief, he reſolves upon an immediate Revenge. To which end, about Sun-ſet he draws out the Legion that winter'd with himſelf, and at the ſame time gets in a readineſs as many *Numidian* Horſe as he cou'd; and haſting away, arrives about three the next Day in a certain Plain ſurrounded by Eminences on all ſides: Where the Soldiers, who were throughly fatigu'd with the greatneſs.

greatneſs of their March, beginning to mutiny, he ſmooths 'em up, and puts 'em in mind that they had but a Mile now to *Vacca*; and that it became 'em to go through the little Labour that was left 'em with Chearfulneſs; ſince it was to take a Revenge for the Deaths of their valiant but murder'd Countreymen: Adding beſides, that to reward their Toils, he deſign'd to give up the Town to 'em for Pillage. This having new-ſpirited the Men, he cauſes the Foot that made up the Rear to march as cloſe together as poſſible, and to keep their Colours from being ſeen; but orders the Horſe who compos'd the Front, to extend themſelves as wide as they cou'd. As ſoon as ever the People of *Vacca* perceiv'd an Army approaching towards them, they judg'd (rightly) at firſt that 'twas *Metellus*, and thereupon ſhut up their Gates. But obſerving they did not ruin the Countrey, and ſeeing *Numidian* Horſe in the Van, they alter'd their Minds: and concluding 'twas *Jugurtha*, came out with mighty Joy to receive him. Upon which, *Metellus* giving the Signal, his Soldiers immediately fell to work; ſome killing and flaying the Rabble that were ſcatter'd all over the Fields; others running to ſecure the Gates; while part ſeiz'd upon the Tower and Forts: The Rage of their Minds, and the Thoughts of Booty making 'em forget the Wearineſs of their Bodies. Thus a great and opulent City became a Sacrifice to the Sword and Plunder; and the *Vaccenſians* had no more than a two Days Enjoyment of their Villany. *Turpilius*, who, as we ſaid before, was the only Perſon that eſcap'd from the Maſſacre, being call'd to Account by *Metellus* for his Behaviour, and ſaying but little for himſelf, was condemn'd, and after being ſcourg'd was put to Death. He was no *Roman*, but a Citizen of *Collatia*.

In the interim *Bomilcar*, at whoſe inſtance *Jugurtha* had gone ſo far in the Surrender, which he afterwards drew back from out of Fear, being very much

much ſuſpected by the King; of whom himſelf was likewiſe as jealous; reſolves to go on with his firſt Intentions, and ſeek for an Opportunity to deſtroy him; beating his Brains both Night and Day for the fitteſt Means to bring it about. And after revolving and trying every thing, he draws into the Plot *Nabdalſa* a Nobleman, who was very rich and extremely Popular; and who often us'd to command a Body ſeparate from the reſt of the King's Army, and to manage all the Affairs of the War, which *Jugurtha*, either through being tir'd, or engag'd by greater, cou'd not diſpatch: By which he gain'd, together with the Profit on't, a very conſiderable Stock of Reputation. The two Conſpirators having form'd their Deſign, agreed upon a Time for the Execution of it; leaving ſome Particulars to the Prudence of each other when they came upon the Spot, to act in 'em as the Occaſion ſhould require. Then *Nabdalſa* return'd to his Detachment, that lay in the Neighbourhood of the *Roman* Quarters, to prevent their ravaging the Countrey at Diſcretion. But having afterwards reflected on the thing, and the Hazards affrighting him, he fail'd the Appointment; ſo that the Conſpiracy cou'd not be executed. Whereupon *Bomilcar*, who was very eager for going through with what he had begun, and extremely afraid at the ſame time that *Nabdalſa*'s Fears would prevail upon him to quit the Deſign, and perhaps betray it; ſends him a Letter by Hands that he cou'd truſt; wherein he taxes his Cowardice and Default; calls down the Gods, by whom he had ſworn; warns him of turning *Metellus*'s Favours into his own Deſtruction, by abuſing them; that *Jugurtha*'s Ruin was near and inevitable; that the Queſtion was only whether he ſhould fall by their Prudence, or by the *Roman* Arms? and deſires him, in fine, to conſider with himſelf whether he had rather be rewarded or tortur'd. Now it happen'd when this Letter

Letter was brought, that *Nabdalſa* being tir'd with Exerciſe was o' Bed: And after he had run over the Contents, he was preſently ſeiz'd with a thouſand Cares, which kept him waking for ſome time; but at length, like Men overladen with Trouble, he fell into a ſound Sleep. At the ſame time he had in his Service a certain *Numidian* that was greatly in favour with him, and who us'd, as being truſty, to manage his Affairs, and had been let into all his Secrets but the laſt: This Man being inform'd of the Letter, and ſuppoſing his Aſſiſtance wou'd be call'd for as uſual, goes into his Tent, and while he was aſleep, ſpying the Letter, which was careleſſly left above his Maſter's Head upon the Pillow, takes and reads it; and diſcovering the Treaſon, poſts away with it immediately to the King. *Nabdalſa*, who wak'd in a ſhort time after, miſſing the Letter, and being inform'd by the Deſerters, who were then upon the Guard, of all that had paſs'd, ſent firſt to overtake the *Numidian*: But that being to no purpoſe, he goes to *Jugurtha*; and to ſatisfy him, pretends, that he ſhou'd have been the Diſcoverer himſelf, if the Perfidy of his Servant had not prevented him: Beſeeching him with Tears by their ancient Friendſhip, and by the many faithful Services he had done him, not to entertain a Suſpicion that he wou'd have been guilty of ſo horrid a Villany. The King return'd him a gracious Anſwer, tho' contrary to the Sentiments which he had in his Mind; for, having put to death *Bomilcar* and ſeveral others that he knew had been concern'd, he had very politickly ſtifled his Reſentment, for fear that the carrying his Revenge any farther, might occaſion a Diſturbance among the People. But from that Moment *Jugurtha* never enjoy'd any Quiet by Night or Day; nor wou'd truſt Times, Places, or Perſons; but was equally jealous of Friends and Enemies: wou'd be almoſt always looking about him: ſtart at the leaſt

Noiſe

Noiſe that he heard; ſkulk a Nights, ſometimes in one Hole, and ſometimes in another, unfit for a Prince; wake on a ſudden out of his Slumbers, and ſnatch up his Arms with a mighty Buſtle: In a word, he was ſo hurry'd with Fears, that he acted like a Man out of his Wits.

Metellus being inform'd by Deſerters of the Diſcovery of the Plot, and of the Fate of *Bomilcar*, beſtirs himſelf to have all things in readineſs for carrying on the War, as but juſt begun. And as for *Marius*, who continually preſs'd him for leave to make the Journey to *Rome*; conſidering the great Animoſity between them, and that therefore he cou'd not depend upon his Services, he thought fit to permit him to go. By the Letters about *Metellus* and *Marius*, before mention'd to be ſent to *Rome*, the Populace had receiv'd ſuch an Account concerning each of 'em as they wiſh'd to hear. The Conſul's Nobility, which us'd to be an Honour to him, ſerv'd now but to make him diſagreeable: As the very meanneſs of the others Extraction recommended him the more to their Favour: And the Factions in the Caſe were govern'd more by a Party-Heat, than by any Regard to the good or evil Qualities of either. Moreover, the turbulent Magiſtrates of the Rabble made it their Buſineſs to increaſe their Ferment, accuſing *Metellus* in their Publick Harangues of Things deſerving no leſs than Death; and crying up at the ſame time the Virtue of *Marius* to the very Skies. Inſomuch, that at laſt the Flame was ſo great, that all the Handicraft Fellows in the City, with the very Ploughmen out of the Countrey, who had nothing to truſt to but their Hands for a Livelihood, left their Work to run after *Marius*, and were more intent upon ſetting up him, than providing Bread for themſelves and Families. The Nobles by this being born down, the Conſulate, after ſeveral Meetings, was given at length to a new-riſen Commoner. And the popular

pular Tribune, *Manlius Mantinus*, demanding of the People whom they wou'd have to commmand in the War againſt *Jugurtha*; 'twas carry'd in a full Aſſembly for *Marius*; which quite fruſtrated the Act of the Senate; whereby, but a very little before, the Province of *Numidia* had been aſſign'd to *Metellus*.

In the mean time *Jugurtha*, who was bereft of his Friends, moſt of whom had been put to Death, and the reſt oblig'd for fear of the like ſome to go over to the *Romans*, and others to fly to King *Bocchus*; being very ſenſible that the War cou'd not be carry'd on without Aſſiſtants, and yet that it was an extreme Hazard, after finding his old Adherents had prov'd ſuch Traytors, to truſt to Strangers; grew much perplex'd in his Mind, and knew not what Courſe to reſolve on. No Counſel nor Perſon pleas'd him: He ſhifted his Officers and Marches daily. Now he wou'd move towards the Enemy; and anon retire into Deſert Corners: Sometimes he wou'd chuſe Flight for his Refuge; and by and by reſume Hopes of doing ſomething by the Force of his Arms. He knew not which he cou'd leaſt rely on, whether the Courage, or Fidelity of his People. In a word, which way ſoever he look'd, every thing appear'd croſs and adverſe to him. In the midſt of theſe irreſolute Motions, *Metellus* on a ſudden comes up with his Army; and *Jugurtha* putting his own in Order, as the Time wou'd permit, the Battel begins. Where the King was preſent in Perſon, there was ſomething of fighting for ſome time; but as for all the reſt of his Army, they were broken and routed on the firſt Shock; and the *Romans* took a great Number of Enſigns and Arms, with a few Priſoners: The *Numidians* having in moſt Battels been more beholden to their Heels than Swords. Upon this Defeat, *Jugurtha* deſpairing more and more of the Succeſs of his Matters, retires with the Deſerters and part of

his Horſe into the Wilds, and from thence to *Thala*, a very large and opulent Town, where was kept the King's Treaſure, and every thing for the educating and diverting his Children. Of which *Metellus* having Intelligence, tho' he knew that between *Thala* and the River adjoining to his then Camp, it was nothing elſe but a vaſt Deſert, and ſandy for fifty Miles together; yet hoping to put an End to the War, if he cou'd but reduce this Place; he reſolves to ſurmount all Difficulties, and to overcome even Nature her ſelf. Wherefore he orders the Beaſts of Carriage to be laden (not with the uſual Baggage, but) only with Flower for ten Days, and with Leathern Bottles and other Utenſils that were moſt convenient for carrying Water; adds to theſe all the working Cattle he cou'd light on in the Neighbouring Fields, and loads them with Veſſels of all ſorts, but moſt of Wood, which he pick'd up from among the Cottages of the poor *Numidians*; commands the Borderers, who had come in and ſubmitted to him after the Rout, to meet him at a Time and Place that he ſet 'em, with a very great Quantity of Water; fills all his own Veſſels out of the River beforemention'd; and being provided in this manner, begins his March towards *Thala*. As ſoon as *Metellus* had reach'd the Place where the *Numidians* were appointed to be, and pitch'd and fortify'd his Camp, as uſual; 'tis ſaid, that the Heavens all on a ſudden pour'd down ſuch a Shower of Rain, that by that alone there was Water enough for the whole Army, with a great deal to ſpare. Moreover, for all other Proviſions, they found a Plenty beyond Expectation: For the Countrey, as it is very common under the Influence of a new Conqueſt, had brought in even more than was requir'd. The Shower made a religious Impreſſion on the Minds of the Soldiers, and added to their Courage: For they fancy'd by this, that the immortal Gods took care of their Perſons

ſons and Enterprize. And the next Day, unlook'd for by *Jugurtha*, they arriv'd before the Town of *Thala*. The Inhabitants, who thought themſelves ſecure by their (almoſt) inacceſſible Situation, were amaz'd at ſo extraordinary an Attempt; but yet were nevertheleſs vigorous in preparing all Things for a ſtout Defence. And our Men, on the other hand, made as much haſte to attack them. *Jugurtha*, who now verily believ'd there was nothing cou'd prove too hard for *Metellus*; as one who had conquer'd by his reſolute Induſtry all ſorts of Force, Marches and Seaſons, and, in fine, had vanquiſh'd Nature her ſelf, which had made other Generals ſubmit; ſlips out of the Town by Night with his Children, and a great part of his Treaſure; nor wou'd ever afterwards tarry longer than a ſingle Day or Night in a Place; feinging Buſineſs for his haſting away, but afraid in truth of treaſonable Practices, which he hop'd by ſhifting his Abode to prevent. For he knew that Plots are generally hatch'd and brought to Perfection by Time and Opportunity. *Metellus* perceiving that the Townſmen appear'd reſolv'd to hold out a Siege, and that the Place was ſtrong both by Art and Nature, ſurrounds it formally with Trenches and Works; ſets up his Vines in the fitteſt Places he cou'd pick out in ſuch a Ground; and by the Shelter of theſe, erects Bulwarks, with Towers upon them to cover his Men. The Beſieg'd, on the contrary, flew about, and beſtirr'd themſelves in every Quarter. In a word, there was nothing any ways neceſſary on either ſide, that was left undone. At length, after a great deal of Toil, frequent Fighting, and forty Days ſpent from the Time of firſt inveſting by the *Romans*, they became Maſters of the Town, but no more; the Deſerters having deſtroy'd the Pillage: For theſe, as ſoon as they found the Walls begin to totter by the Battering of the Rams, and that Affairs were brought to

Extremity; convey'd all the Gold and Silver, and other Valuables, to the King's Palace; and after a very full Feasting and Debauch with Wines, fir'd the House, and consum'd themselves and all that was in it: Voluntarily inflicting that on themselves, which they dreaded the Enemy wou'd make 'em suffer.

At the same time that *Thala* was taken, there came Embassadors to *Metellus* from *Leptis*, to beseech him to send them a Garrison and Governor; letting him know that they had among them one *Hamilcar*, a factious Nobleman, who endeavour'd to make the People revolt, and whom neither the Authority of the Laws, nor the Power of the Magistrate was able to deal with; and that if there was not a quick Remedy, as the City it self wou'd be surely ruin'd, so the *Romans* wou'd lose a faithful Ally; for the *Leptians* at the very beginning of the War had sent first to the Consul *Bestia*, and afterwards to *Rome* to desire Amity; which being granted, they all along remain'd a firm and valuable Confederate; zealously performing all that *Bestia*, *Albinus*, or *Metellus* requir'd of them. In Consideration of which the General readily condescended to their Request, and sent them four *Ligurian* Cohorts under the Command of *C. Annius* as Governor. This Place was built by *Sidonians*, who are said to have quitted their own Countrey, because of the Civil Dissentions that were in it, and to have come by Sea into these Parts. 'Tis seated between two Quicksands, that go by the Name of *Syrtes* from * σύρω. For near the † extreme Limits of *Africa*, there are two Gulphs that run into the Countrey, unequal in Bigness, but alike in Nature: The Parts of which adjoyning to the Land remain

* *To Draw.*

† *According to the old Geography.*

remain always of a mighty Depth, but the more remote are ſometimes deep, and again ſhallow, as the Wind lies. For when the Sea runs high, and the Wind blows with a ſtrong Guſt, the Billows roll to them great Quantities of Sand, Ouze, and Maſſy Stones; and the Face of the Bottom is continually alter'd according to the different working of the Tempeſts. The Language of the City is now chang'd by their intermarriages with the *Numidians*. But their Laws and Manners are moſtly *Sidonian*; which the great Diſtance they were at from Court enabled 'em the more eaſily to retain; for between them and any inhabited part of *Numidia* there are vaſt Deſarts.

And now ſince the Affairs of *Leptis* have drawn me into this Countrey, I think it not amiſs to relate a moſt ſurprizing and memorable Thing (of which the Place puts me in Mind) that was done by two Brothers of *Carthage*. During the Time that the *Carthaginians* were Maſters of the biggeſt Part of *Africa*, the *Cyrenians* were likewiſe very opulent and made a great Figure in the World. There lay between them a Tract of Ground cover'd with Sand; and a perfect Flat; without any Mountain or River in it to aſcertain the Limits of their ſeveral Territories; the want of which became an Occaſion of a bloody and long War betwixt 'em: Wherein after the Fleets and Armies on either ſide had been often ſhatter'd, and each thereby conſiderably weaken'd, fearing that ſome third Power might ſtart up and make a Prey both of Vanquiſh'd and Victors, alike weary, they came to an Agreement that each Party ſhou'd at ſuch a certain Time ſend out Men from their reſpective Countries, and that wherever they happen'd to meet, that Place ſhou'd be ever after the common Bound of their ſeveral Empires. The Perſons ſent by the *Carthaginians* were two Brothers, by Name *Philani*, who made great ſpeed in their Journey.

The *Cyrenians* were not ſo expeditious, but whether it was the Effect of Lazineſs or ſome retarding Accident is unknown; this is certain, that in theſe Parts a Tempeſt is of as ill a Conſequence to any one as it is at Sea. For when the Winds in a level Wilderneſs that's bare of all manner of Herbage, have ſwept up and mounted the Sands, they drive along with a mighty Force, and fill the Mouth and Eyes of a Traveller, ſo that he dares not look out, nor is able to move forward in his Journey. The *Cyrenians* upon meeting the others, finding themſelves to have loſt Ground, and fearing Puniſhment upon their return for not diſcharging their Truſt better, fell to accuſing the *Carthaginians* for ſetting out before the Time, and made a great Noiſe and Diſturbance; reſolving, whatſoever it coſt them, not to go away out-done. The two Brothers agreed to ſtand to any Terms of Deciſion that were fair. Upon which the * *Grecians* tendred 'em theſe, that either the Brothers ſhou'd ſuffer themſelves to be bury'd alive in the Place they claim'd for the Bound of their Countrey, or elſe that they themſelves ſhou'd have Liberty go as far onwards as they pleas'd, ſubmitting afterwards to the ſame Fate. The *Philæni* cloſing with the Propoſal, made a generous Sacrifice of their Lives to the Common-wealth, and were bury'd accordingly. The People of *Carthage* erected Monuments upon the Spot to the two Brothers; and other Honours were inſtituted at home to eternize the Remembrance of their Action. I return now to the Web of my Hiſtory.

Jugurtha, after the Loſs of *Thala*, thinking nothing too ſtrong for *Metellus*, takes his way with a handful of Followers through vaſt Deſerts, and comes to

* *The Author took notice before that* Cyrene *was a Colony from one of the* Thera's; *and they were Iſlands that lay in* Greece.

to the *Gætuli*, a ſavage and barbarous ſort of People, and ignorant then of the *Roman* Name. Of theſe he gets a Multitude together, and trains 'em by degrees to keep their Ranks, to follow their Enſigns, to obey Commands, and perform other Military Exerciſes. Moreover by making large Preſents and larger Promiſes he gains thoſe who had the Ear of *Bocchus*, by whoſe Addreſs and Intereſt with their King he draws him to engage in a War againſt the *Romans*; To which *Bocchus* was the more diſpos'd, becauſe he had ſent Embaſſadors to *Rome* upon opening of the War to propoſe a League; but the Overture, tho' the moſt advantageous to the Enterprize they were then entring upon, was oppos'd and baffled by a few Noblemen that were blinded by Avarice, and who made a Practice of ſelling Honour, Profit and every thing. We ought likewiſe to take notice that † *Bocchus* had marry'd a Daughter of *Jugurtha*'s. However, among the *Moors* and *Numidians*, that Relation is valu'd but little: For they all marry ſeveral Wives, ſome ten, and others more, according to their Abilities to maintain 'em; and Princes have conſequently a greater Number; ſo that being diſtracted with Variety, they regard none for a Wife as they ſhou'd, but look on every one of 'em with Indifference. At a Place appointed for both Sides, the ſeveral Armies rendezvouz'd; where after exchanging Faith, *Jugurtha*, the more to inflame *Bocchus*, took Occaſion to make an Harangue to him; repreſenting that the *Romans* were a People moſt Oppreſſive, inſatiably Covetous, and common Enemies to Mankind: that they had the ſame Cauſe in Reſerve for a War with *Bocchus*, as with him and others, the Luſt of a univerſal Domi-

† *By the* Latin *it ſhou'd ſeem that* Jugurtha *had marry'd* Bocchus's *Daughter, but the Senſe carries me to the other rendring.*

nion: That they hated all Monarchs whatsoever; and that as himself was attack'd at present, and the *Carthaginians* and King *Perses* were a little before the Objects of their Fury, so for the future, as any one shou'd happen to be found rich or considerable, the *Romans* wou'd fall upon him as their Enemy. After he had speech'd it to this purpose, they march'd away for the Town of *Cirta*; for there *Metellus* had laid up his Baggage, and put the Prisoners and Booty he had taken: Upon which account *Jugurtha* propos'd to enrich himself by carrying the Place, or, if the *Romans* came to relieve it, to gain an Occasion, at least, of fighting 'em; for he very politickly made haste to engage *Bocchus* too far for a Retreat, fearing that if the Matter were delay'd, he might fall back into Measures of Peace. The Consul after being inform'd of the League between the two Kings, wou'd not rashly, or in all Places proffer Battel, as he us'd to do to a shatter'd Adversary, as *Jugurtha* was; but pitching his Camp near *Cirta*, and entrenching himself, attended their coming; judging it most advisable for him, seeing the *Moors* were a new Enemy, to make Tryal first of their Courage, and for that purpose to fight them on Advantage. In the mean time he receiv'd Advice by Letters from *Rome*, that the Province of *Numidia* was given to *Marius*; having heard before that he was made Consul. This News disturb'd and transported him beyond all manner of Bounds; insomuch that he cou'd not refrain from Tears, nor in any measure moderate his Tongue: A Man extraordinary in other respects, but unable to bear a Mortification; which some People imputed to his Pride; others to a consciousness of his own worth, which rendred him less capable of brooking unworthy Usage; and many thought his Regret was, that the War shou'd be wrested out of his Hands when he had brought it so near a Period: For my own part, I

am

am well ſatisfy'd, he was more concern'd at the Advancement of *Marius*, than for any Affront put on himſelf; and that it wou'd not have gone ſo near him to have had his Province taken from him, if they had but beſtow'd it on any other beſides *Marius*.

Metellus being under this Uneaſineſs, and judging it Folly to hazard himſelf to procure Triumphs for another only, ſends away Embaſſadors to *Bocchus*, to admoniſh him not to become an Enemy to the People of *Rome* without Provocation; and to let him know he had yet a Liberty of ſtriking up an Alliance with them, which ought to be choſen before War: That what Reaſon ſoever he had for relying upon his own Strength, it cou'd not be adviſable for him to part with a Certainty for an Uncertainty: That War was eaſily entred into, but as hard to be got out of again: That the Commencement and Concluſion of it were ſeldom at the Will of the ſame Perſons: That any Coward might begin a War, but the Victor's Diſcretion alone wou'd end it: And laſtly, that he wou'd do well to conſult the Intereſt of himſelf and Kingdom, and not embark a proſperous Condition in the Bottom with *Jugurtha*'s ruin'd Fortunes. To which *Bocchus* reply'd mildly, that he was not at all backward to Peace, but cou'd not but pity the Circumſtances of *Jugurtha*: And that every thing wou'd be ſoon agreed, if the latter might but be comprehended in it. The General by way of Anſwer to his Overtures ſends Commiſſioners to him again: approving ſome and refuſing others. And thus by ſending backwards and forwards on each Side, Time was ſpun out, and the War protracted as *Metellus* wou'd have it.

Marius, as above, being choſen Conſul with ſo much Zeal and Concurrence of the Commons, who had alſo voted him the Province of *Numidia*, as he had always been an Enemy to the Nobles,

became now a fiercer than ever; ſometimes affronting particular Perſons, and at other times the whole Body; boaſting he had wreſted the Conſulate from 'em as Spoils from the Hands of a baffled Adverſary; and ſpeaking ſeveral other things ſwelling of himſelf, and expoſing them. In the mean time he made it his Buſineſs to provide every thing neceſſary for the War; demanded a Reinforcement of the Legions; ſent about to the Allies for Auxiliaries; pickt up all the Fellows in *Italy* that he knew to be ſtout, and a few that paſs'd for it; and prevail'd with many of the brave Veterans diſcharg'd the Service to go with him likewiſe. Nor durſt the Senate refuſe him any thing, tho' they hated him at the ſame time; but readily decreed him a Reinforcement, thinking that when he once came to preſs the Populace, they wou'd grow diſguſted, and ſo he wou'd either be diſappointed of the Succours he needed, or loſe their Favour; but theſe Hopes were without Succeſs, ſo ſtrange an Eagerneſs to go with *Marius*, had poſſeſs'd the Minds of the greateſt part of 'em; every one promis'd himſelf to return a Victor, and laden with Booty: And I know not what other Things ran in their Heads and ſpurr'd them on; to which an Harangue made by *Marius*, but a little before had greatly contributed. For after all his Demands were decreed him, and he came thereupon to make his Levies, to encourage Men to come in the faſter, as alſo to mortify the Nobility, as uſual, he call'd together an Aſſembly of the People, and ſpoke to them to this purpoſe.

"I know, my Countreymen, there are very "few that continue to practiſe the ſame Virtues "after Preferment, which they exercis'd to ob- "tain it: Before, they'll be moderate, humble, "and induſtrious; but afterwards, nothing but "Sloth and Pride. But this to me is very pre-

"poſterous

" posterous; for as the Good of the Common-
" wealth is of more Importance than a Conful or
" Prætorſhip, the Care ſhould be greater how to
" adminiſter the former well, than to acquire the
" latter. For my own Part, I am very ſenſible
" how weighty a Buſineſs I have upon my Hands
" (through your favourable Choice of me) to
" manage: To provide all the Neceſſaries of a
" War, yet ſpare the Treaſury at the ſame Time;
" to compel thoſe into the Service whom 'tis
" a tickliſh Point to offend; to ſee to every
" Thing both at home and abroad; and all this
" among a Confederacy of envious, contradict-
" ing, and factious Spirits, is a harder Taſk than
" moſt are aware of. Beſides, others who fail
" in their Poſts have a long Deſcent from a noble
" Stock, illuſtrious Actions of Forefathers, Wealth
" and Intereſt of Kindred and Friends, and a
" Multitude of Clients and Followers to ſupport
" them: But my Dependence is alone on my
" ſelf, and my own Reſolution and Innocence
" muſt protect me, having nothing elſe to ſtand
" me in ſtead. Moreover I know, my valiant
" Countreymen, that the Eyes of every one are
" upon me, and that all honeſt and true *Romans*
" wiſh well to me, as one that has acted before-
" hand for the Good of the Publick: But that
" the Nobility, on the other Hand, lie in Wait for
" Occaſions to ruin it. This will excite and
" double my Diligence to ſee both that you be
" not deceived, and that they on the contrary
" be diſappointed. From my Childhood to this
" Moment of Time I have been inur'd to Hard-
" ſhips and Perils. If before I had any Recom-
" pence I nevertheleſs ſerved you *gratis*, I can
" never think of ceaſing to do it after receiving
" ſuch Favours from you. 'Tis a very difficult
" Thing for ſuch to behave themſelves in Power

" as they ought, who wore only a Maſk of Pro-
" bity while they were making their Way to it:
" But to me, who have always exercis'd Virtue,
" 'tis become natural to do well. You have
" thought fit to command me, Gentlemen, to
" carry on the War againſt *Jugurtha*, and this
" the Nobility reſent highly. Now, pray conſi-
" der well with your ſelves whether you had beſt
" alter your Reſolve, and ſend upon ſuch Occa-
" ſions as theſe one out of that Crowd of No-
" bles, a Man, forſooth, of an ancient Pedigree,
" and compaſs'd with numerous Statues of his
" Family, but who never once ſaw a Campaign;
" By all Means, that you may have one, who
" quite ignorant of the Buſineſs of his Poſt, ſhall
" tremble in Danger, be all Confuſion, and be
" forced to run to a Commoner for Inſtruction.
" From whence it has often happen'd in Fact
" that he whom you have order'd to command
" has got another to command himſelf. I have
" known thoſe, moſt worthy *Romans*, who after
" having been choſen Conſuls, have begun to ſtu-
" dy the Actions of their Anceſtors, and the
" Rules of War delivered by the *Greeks*. Pre-
" poſterous Method! For though Election pre-
" cedes their actual Exerciſe of the Office, yet
" before the former is made, they ought to be
" trained to a Skill and Fitneſs for it. Compare
" me now an advanc'd Commoner with the
" haughty Ignorance of theſe Men: What they
" have but heard or read of, I have acted, or
" ſhared in the performing; what they have lame-
" ly gather'd from Books, I have gained by long
" Practice in the Field: And judge whether a
" little Theory with a Talent of Talking about
" War ought to be named with Deeds and Expe-
" rience. They contemn my Riſe for its New-
" neſs, and I their degenerate Cowardice: They

" upbraid

" upbraid me with my low Fortune, and I
" them with their foul Enormities. For my own
" Part, though I am ſatisfied the ſame Nature is
" common to all, yet I can't but think that the
" brave Man is of all others the beſt Gentleman.
" And if the Fathers of *Beſtia* or *Albinus* could
" now be aſk'd whether they would rather have
" ſuch as me or them for their Children, what
" do you think the Anſwer would be, but that
" they deſir'd the moſt valiant? If they have Rea-
" ſon to deſpiſe me, let them do the ſame by their
" own Anceſtors, who deriv'd their firſt and only
" Nobility from heroick Gallantry, as I mine.
" They envy me the Honours I have riſen to, let
" them envy me likewiſe my Induſtry and Virtue,
" let them envy the Perils and Hardſhips I have
" gone through; for it was by thoſe Steps that I aſ-
" cended. But theſe Men, corrupted with Pride,
" live as if they ſlighted your Honours, and yet
" demand them with ſuch Aſſurance as if they
" had acted with the utmoſt Probity. Miſtaken
" Men! to think to unite the two moſt diſtant
" Things in the World, the Pleaſures of Sloth
" and the Recompences of Virtue. When they
" Speech it to you, or in the Senate, they run
" out into extolling their Anceſtors, and make a
" pompous Enumeration of the great Actions
" perform'd by them: From whence they think
" a Merit and Fame accrues to themſelves; but
" 'tis quite otherwiſe: For the more illuſtrious
" were Their Virtues, the more deteſtable are the
" Vices of Theſe. The Truth of the Matter is
" ſhortly this; the Glory acquired by Forefathers
" diffuſes a Light about their Poſterity that will
" not ſuffer their evil Deeds any more than their
" good to paſs unnoticed. Of this Light, my
" beloved Countrymen, I do not pretend to have
" any Share. But then I have that which is

"more glorious; I have Acts of my own to in-
"ſiſt upon. Now mark the Injuſtice of theſe
"People; who will not allow me to reap the
"fame Fruit from my own Performances which
"they challenge from thoſe of others: And why,
"but becauſe I have no Statues, and my Nobility
"is, forſooth, but of Yeſterday: Which yet to
"acquire one's ſelf, muſt be nobler than to mar
"it after 'tis brought to them from their An-
"ceſtors. I know very well that if theſe Men
"ſhould come to reply to all this, they would
"entertain you with flouriſhing Speeches, and
"a Talent of Eloquence beyond mine. But ſince
"for the Favours that you have heaped on me,
"they aſperſe us both upon all Occaſions, I could
"not refrain from a Vindication, for fear my
"Modeſty ſhould be miſconſtrued as a Conſci-
"ouſneſs of ſome Guilt in my ſelf: For let their
"Harangues be what they will, I am ſatisfied
"that they cannot hurt me: For if they are true,
"they muſt ſpeak well of me; and if falſe, my
"Life will refute them. But ſince they reflect
"upon your Prudence in beſtowing the higheſt
"Honour upon me, and truſting ſuch great Af-
"fairs to my Management, I would have you
"conſider again, my Friends, whether you had
"beſt alter your Choice. I confeſs I am not a
"Man of Statues, nor can make a Blaze with
"Triumphs or Conſulates of my Forefathers to
"obtain Credit with you: But if there be Need,
"I have Spears and Enſigns, *Trappings and
"other Guerdons of War; beſides which, I can
"ſhew you Scars, not behind, but in This Breaſt.
"Theſe are My Statues, and this is My Nobi-
"lity.

* *Ornaments for a Horſe to reward a Trooper for diſmounting, &c. his Adverſary.*

" lity, not deriv'd from Anceſtors, like Their's,
" but purchaſed by my ſelf with a thouſand Perils.
" My Words, they tell you, are not polite; I
" don't value that of a Ruſh. Virtue makes
" its Way of it ſelf: But the Colours of Speech
" are neceſſary for them, to diſguiſe the better
" their ſhameful Practices. Again, I am igno-
" rant of the *Greek* Learning! Why, I never was
" fond of ſtudying that which could not pre-
" ſerve the Owners from Slavery. But then I
" am ſkill'd in another Diſcipline of the laſt Uſe
" to the Commonwealth: To fight an Enemy,
" hold out a Place, fear nothing in the World
" but Infamy, ſuffer Heat and Cold indifferently,
" lie upon the Ground, and endure Fatigue, with
" pinching Hunger at the ſame Time: My own
" Example in theſe Things will be the Commands
" I ſhall give out to excite my Soldiers to do
" their Duty; (for I ſhall not put Hardſhips up-
" on them, and indulge my ſelf at the ſame
" Time; nor make my own Glory the Purchaſe
" of their ſole Labour and Performances.) This
" is a Conduct good for the Publick; this is a
" Government fit for Men: Whereas to wallow
" in Eaſe one's ſelf, but impoſe ſevere Things
" on the Army, is to act the Tyrant, and not
" the General. By ſuch a generous Courſe as
" this our Anceſtors gain'd immortal Honour
" both to themſelves and the Republick. Upon
" which our preſent Nobles relying, though they
" partake nothing of their Bravery, will not al-
" low me for their Rival, but boldly claim of
" you all Honours as due to their Perſons, with-
" out Merit. But herein our haughty Blades are
" certainly under a great Error. Their Fathers
" bequeathed them all Things that would paſs,
" Riches, Images, and a fair Fame: But they
" left them not their Virtue; for they could not:

" For

" For that's a Thing that is not aſſignable from
" one to another by Way of Gift. They
" ſay that I am a ſlovenly Fellow, and one of
" no Manner of Breeding; becauſe, forſooth, I
" have not the Art of furniſhing out a Collation
" nicely, keep no Buffoons for Diverſion, nor
" give more for a Cook than a Bailiff. This I
" frankly confeſs is true: For I have been bred
" up in the Notion by my Father, and other
" venerable Perſons, that Daintineſs ought to be
" left to Women; but that Labour and Hardineſs
" become Men; and that all truly Heroick Spi-
" rits ſhould value Glory above Wealth, and be
" prouder of Arms than the fineſt Furniture.
" Well, let them enjoy their Fill of the Things
" that are ſo ſo delightful and dear to them:
" Let them drink and whore as they pleaſe: As
" they ſpent their Youth, let them paſs their Age
" in Banquets and Revels, devoted to their Bellies
" and the moſt diſhonourable Part of their Bo-
" dies: Let them leave Sweat, and Duſt, and
" Fatigue, to me, who love it above my Food.
" But this will not content them neither: For
" though, unworthy Brutes as they are! they
" have unmanned themſelves by Debauchery, they
" are nevertheleſs eager to engroſs the Rewards
" that are owing only to Virtue; and (which is
" the higheſt Piece of Injuſtice) Luxury and
" Sloth, the moſt ſcandalous Evils, muſt be no
" Bar to the Men who are guilty of them, tho'
" the innocent Commonwealth is like to be un-
" done by ſuch Vices. Having now anſwered
" the Calumnies of the Nobles as far as my own
" Modeſty would permit, though not as their
" Actions deſerve, I will ſpeak a little to the
" State of the Publick. Firſt then, I would have
" you, my Friends, hope well of the War in
" *Numidia*: For you have removed all the Things
" that

" that have hitherto protected *Jugurtha*, as Ava-
" rice, Want of Conduct, and Imperiouſneſs.
" Then, the Army you have there is very well
" acquainted with the Countrey, and ſtout, tho'
" it has not been ſo ſucceſsful: For great Num-
" bers of it have periſhed through the Raſhneſs or
" Covetouſneſs of their Commanders. Ariſe then
" ſuch of you, Gentlemen, as are of an Age to
" bear Arms, take the Publick into your Hands,
" and exert your ſelves with me in its Cauſe.
" Nor let the paſt Fate of your Fellows, nor the
" Pride of former Generals diſcourage you. I
" will be with you a Counſellor and Companion
" in all your Encampments, Marches, and Bat-
" tels: In every Thing I ſhall aſk of you, I
" will bear a Share with you my ſelf: And doubt
" not but by the Help of the Gods all Matters
" will become eaſy: Victory, Booty, and Re-
" nown are ripe for us. But grant for once that
" the Caſe were doubtful, or we had but glim-
" mering Hopes of Succeſs, 'twould be yet the
" Duty of true Patriots to do their utmoſt for
" the Commonwealth. No Body ever yet gain'd
" an immortal Glory by ſitting ſtill: Nor is any
" truly generons Parent ſo much for his Children's
" living for ever, as their paſſing their Lives with
" Gallantry and Honour. I would ſay more, my
" illuſtrious Countreymen, if Words could in-
" ſpire Cowards with Valour: But to brave Men
" I perſuade my ſelf I have ſaid more than
" enough already.

Marius having made this Harangue, and finding the People animated to his Wiſh, ſhips his Proviſions, Money, and Arms, with other Neceſſaries, with all Speed, and ſends his Legate *A. Manlius* away with them. In the mean Time, he raiſes Soldiers, not out of the ſeveral Claſſes, nor according

according to the ancient Manner of Levies, but taking all who were willing to go, though they paid neither Scot nor Lot. Some thought he accepted these for want of Men of better Account; and others laid it upon his Ambition, for that he was cried up and advanced by that Sort of People, and that indigent Fellows are the fittest Instruments for one who aims at Power to work with, because they have nothing of their own to care for, and look upon all that as just that will bring something into their Pockets. *Marius*, who had by this Method lifted somewhat a larger Number than the Senate decreed him, parts for *Africa*, and arrives in a few Days at *Utica*: Where the Army was delivered over to him by *P. Rutilius* the Legate; for *Metellus* avoided the Sight of *Marius*, that he might not be an Eye-Witness to that which he could not so much as endure to hear of. The Consul having by these Recruits fill'd up the Legions and Auxiliary Cohorts marches into the fertilest of the Country, and abounding every where with Booty, where he gives up all to the Pillage of the Soldiers. Then he attacks the Castles and Towns that were less fortified, or had slender Garrisons; and pretty frequently takes occasion to engage the Enemy here and there, yet mostly by Way of slight Skirmishing. During which the new-rais'd Men were order'd only to look on, which they did by Degrees without Fear; taking Notice how the Routed were killed or taken; that the most valiant came off the safest; and that 'twas the vigorous Use of Arms that preserved Liberty, Country, and Parents, with every other Thing that was valuable, and, moreover acquired them Wealth and Glory. By which Means in a short Time they grew to be all one with the Veterans, and the Bravery of both became equal. As soon as the Kings received

ceived Advice of *Marius*'s Arrival, they retired in ſeveral Bodies into Faſtneſſes: 'Twas *Jugurtha*'s Stratagem, who flattered himſelf that the *Romans* would thereupon diſperſe, and ſo he might fall on them with more Advantage; or that after their Fears were over, they would grow like moſt other People ſecure and negligent, and the eaſier to be dealt with. *Metellus* in the interim arriving at *Rome*, was received, contrary to his Expectation, with the higheſt Marks of Kindneſs and Joy; and careſs'd not only by the Nobles, but Populace, now their Envy and Heat was over. But *Marius*, indefatigably Active, was careful of every Step he made, and equally vigilant at the ſame Time to obſerve all the Motions of the Enemy; continually pondering what Things would be advantageous, or the contrary to either; getting Intelligence by Spies of their Marches; and preventing all their Ambuſhes and Deſigns. In a Word, he allowed no Remiſſneſs in his own Army, nor gave any Reſt to that of the Kings. Wherefore he often met with the *Getuli* and *Jugurtha* himſelf carrying off Booties taken from our Allies, and attack'd and routed them; particularly near the Town of *Cirta* he forced the *Numidian* to run away, and leave all his Arms behind him. But theſe being only gallant Exploits, and perceiving they would not finiſh the War, he reſolved to beſiege all the Places whoſe ſtrong Garriſons or difficult Situation could advantage his Adverſary, or annoy himſelf; whereby he ſhould ſtrip him of all his Strengths, or oblige him to come to a fair Engagement. For as to *Bocchus*, he had ſent to the Conſul ſeveral Times to let him know that he was ready to make an Alliance with the *Romans*, and that they had nothing at all to fear from him. But whether this was only Pretence, that he might give a greater Blow by ſurprizing us,

us, or whether it proceeded from the Fickleneſs of his Temper, accuſtom'd to make frequent Exchanges of War and Peace, could be never learn'd. *Marius*, purſuant to the Meaſures he had pitched on, marches to the fortified Towns and Caſtles; ſome of which he reduced by Force, and others he gained by Threats or Promiſes. Beginning at firſt with ſuch Places as were not altogether ſo ſtrong, and expecting *Jugurtha* would come to their Relief. But after he underſtood that he was gone a very great Diſtance off, and intent there upon other Matters, he laid hold on the Opportunity to go upon greater and harder Enterprizes.

Amidſt the Deſerts there ſtood a large and powerful City, called *Capſa*, ſaid to be founded by the *Libyan Hercules*; and whoſe Inhabitants having enjoyed a mild Government, with many Immunities, under the Adminiſtration of *Jugurtha*, were look'd upon as entirely in his Intereſt, and were fortified againſt all Enemies, as by good Walls, Magazines, and Numbers, ſo much more by the Difficulties of Acceſs to them. For, except the Parts in their near Neighbourhood, the Countrey round was a vaſt Wild, unfrequented, without Water, and very much infeſted with Serpents, whoſe Fierceneſs, like that of other Beaſts, was extremely augmented by want of Food, and their Nature, beſides being miſchievous in it ſelf, enraged by nothing ſo much as Thirſt. *Marius* conceived an ardent Deſire to make himſelf Maſter of this Place, partly for that it was of Importance, and partly becauſe the Attempt was difficult. Beſide, that *Metellus* a little before, to his laſting Honour, had carried *Thala*, a Town not unlike this in Reſpect of its Situation and Strength: Only at *Thala* there were ſome Springs not far off from the Walls; whereas (excepting from one Well, and that lying within

in

in the Town) the People of *Capſa*, and all about it, were ſupplied only by Rain-Water: A Deficiency which was the more tolerable to theſe and all the other *Africans*, who lived wild, and at a Diſtance from the Sea, becauſe the Diet they fed upon for the moſt Part was Milk and Veniſon, without regarding the Uſe of Salt or other Incentives to whet the Appetite; for their Food was not for Luſt or Luxury, but only to repreſs Hunger and Thirſt. The Conſul having conſider'd every Thing relating to his Project, and relying on the Gods, (for he could not certainly by his own Wiſdom provide againſt ſuch manifold Difficulties, Corn alſo being like to be ſcarce with him, in regard the *Numidians* don't turn ſo much of their Soil to Tillage as Paſtures; and whatever of any Sort was on the Ground, they had carried off by the King's Directions into their ſtrong Holds. Beſides, by the very Seaſon of the Year, it being the latter Part of the Summer, the Fields were all parched up, and without any Thing of new Herbage,) makes a prudent and tolerable Proviſion, according to the Plenty he then had; gives Orders to the Auxiliary Horſe to drive before them all the Cattel he had made Booty of in the late Expeditions; and commands away his Legate *A. Manlius*, with ſome light Cohorts to the Town of *Laris*, where he had laid up his Proviſions, and the Money intended to pay the Army; giving out, That in a few Days, after having ravaged the Countrey round about, he would be there himſelf: And having thereby concealed his Deſign, he ſets forward directly for the *Tana*. In his March he every Day made an equal Diſtribution of the Cattel, ſo much to the Foot, and ſo much to the Horſe; and took Care to have a good Number of Bags or Bottles made with the Hides: With the Fleſh ſupplying the Want

Want of Corn; and (without any Body's knowing his End) preparing with the Skins ſuch Veſſels as ſhortly were to ſtand him in Stead. On the ſixth Day he arrived at the River, having got ready abundance of the Water-Bags; and there pitching a ſlight Camp, orders the Army to take a Meal, and to hold themſelves in a Readineſs to move as ſoon as ever the Sun ſhould ſet, leaving all the Baggage behind, and carrying with their Beaſts only Water. His Time being come, he broke up; and after marching all Night, encamp'd again two take Reſt. The next Night he proceeded on: and the third, long before Day-Light, he reached to a Place full of Hillocks, and not above two Miles from *Capſa*; where he cauſed his Army to halt, and lay as cloſe with it as ever he could. As ſoon as the Day began to appear, and many of the *Numidians*, who never dream'd of an Enemy's Approach, came out of the Town, he immediately commanded all the Horſe, with the ſwifteſt of the Foot, to fly to the Gates; following himſelf with Diligence at their Heels, and ſuffering none to ſtraggle for Booty. The Townſmen finding the Caſe they were in, the Suddenneſs of the Evil, the Danger of their Circumſtances, the Terrors they were under, and the Conſideration that a good Number of their Fellow-Citizens were without the Walls, and in the Enemy's Hands, obliged them to ſurrender. However, the Place was laid in Aſhes, the *Numidian* Youth put to the Sword, the reſt of the Inhabitants ſold for Slaves, and the Plunder divided among the Soldiers. A Proceeding which, contrary to the Courſe of War, the Conſul was not at all induc'd to from either a cruel or covetous Diſpoſition; but becauſe the Place was of Conſequence to *Jugurtha*, difficult for us to approach and beſiege, and the Inhabitants fickle, perfidious

perfidious in their Nature, and known before to be not capable of being ſecured by either Kindneſs or Fear.

Marius having performed an Exploit ſo very great, and with no Loſs, as he was famous enough before, became more reputed by this; inſomuch that Actions at the Bottom raſh in him, were aſcribed to Conduct and the Vaſtneſs of his Genius. The Soldiers being under a gentle Diſcipline, and enriched withal, extolled him to the Skies; the *Numidians* feared him as more than mortal; and, in fine, both Friends and Enemies thought him to be either a Sort of Divinity himſelf, or that he acted by the immediate Aſſiſtance of the Gods. The Conſul meeting with ſuch Succeſs, turns his Attack upon other Towns; ſome few of which he takes after alittle Reſiſtance made; and finding more deſerted by the Inhabitants, as dreading the like Fate with the *Capſenſians*, he burns them all down to the Ground. In a Word, the whole Countrey about was fill'd with Slaughter and Lamentation. Having thus reduced ſeveral Places, and moſtly without any Bloodſhed of his Army, he applies himſelf to another Enterprize, not ſo toilſome as the taking of *Capſa*, yet in other Reſpects no leſs difficult. Not far from the River *Mulucha*, which parted the Kingdoms of *Jugurtha* and *Bocchus*, there ſtood in the Midſt of the neighbouring Plain a rocky Mountain, of immenſe Height, with a pretty conſiderable Breadth at Top, and an indifferent Caſtle ſtanding upon it; but without any Avenue thereto, but by one Way that was extremely narrow, the reſt being all prodigiouſly ſteep, as if wrought and deſign'd for impregnable. *Marius* attacks this Place with all his Might, to make himſelf Maſter of it, becauſe *Jugurtha*'s Treaſure was in it: Wherein he was more beholden for

for Succeſs to his good Fortune, than his own Management. For the Caſtle was furniſh'd with a ſtrong Garriſon, a ſufficient Magazine of Arms, Plenty of Corn, and a Fountain of Water: Nor was it aſſailable by Trenches or Towers, or any other Works you cou'd project. Beſides, as the Paſſage to it was narrow, ſo on each ſide even of that it was all Precipice. The Vines were ſet up againſt it to no purpoſe, tho' with vaſt Hazard; for as ſoon as they were pretty near finiſhing, they were ruin'd by Fire or Stones from above: Moreover the Soldiers had no footing in their working at the Mountain, becauſe of its Steepneſs; nor cou'd they act amongſt the Vines without Danger of knocking in the Head: The boldeſt among 'em being ſlain or wounded, and the reſt terrify'd more than ever. After a good deal of Time ſpent, and much Toiling without any Succeſs, *Marius*, with great Regret, was conſidering whether to abandon the Undertaking, or to tarry and ſee what his Fortune, which had often befriended him, wou'd now do for him. In which Uncertainty, and fuming in his Mind, having paſs'd ſeveral Days and Nights, it fell out, that a certain *Ligurian*, a Common Soldier of the Auxiliary Cohorts, went out of the Camp for Water; and going to the other ſide of the Caſtle, which was oppoſite to that where we attack'd, he obſerv'd ſeveral Periwinkles creeping about among the Rocks; of which having taſted two or three, and climb up to procure more, he was got at length, before he was aware, to almoſt the Top of the Mountain. Where perceiving all to be ſtill, he was led onward by a Curioſity, that is natural to Men in ſuch Caſes, to ſee what he had not ſeen before, And there happ'ning to grow in the ſame Place among the Rocks a great Tree, deſcending with a little Bent at the bottom, and then riſing and ſhooting

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ing to a Height, according to the way of Vegetables on Declivities; by the Help, ſometimes of the Boughs of that, and ſometimes of the Stones that jutted from the Hill, the *Ligurian* clamber'd up ſo high as to diſcover the whole Platform of the Caſtle; and that all the *Numidians* were very buſy on the other ſide, in defending againſt the Enemy. After he had taken a View of all that he thought might be of future Service, he returns back by the way he had aſcended, tho' not haſtily as he got up, but looking about him, and obſerving every thing: Which done, away he goes with Speed to *Marius*, and informs him of the Adventure; preſſing him to let an Attack be made in that Part he had ſo luckily travers'd, and offering to lead the way himſelf, and to be the foremoſt in facing of the Danger. *Marius* diſpatch'd ſome of thoſe who were then in Preſence, to examine into the feaziblenes of the Project; who when they came back, made their Report, (according to every Man's Genius) ſome, that 'twas eaſy; and others, that 'twas difficult. The Conſul, however, began to be a little elevated upon it; and picking out five of the moſt active of all the Trumpets and Cornets of his Army, with four Centurions, and their Companies to ſupport 'em; he commands them all to hold themſelves ready for the next Day, and to follow the *Ligurian*; who, as ſoon as the Time appointed was come, and every thing fix'd, ſlips to the Place. The Centurions, as pre-inſtructed by their Guide, chang'd their Armour and uſual Habit; going with their Heads and Feet bare, to be able to look the better before them, and to climb the Mountain ſo much the eaſier; and flinging at their Backs their Swords and Bucklers: which latter were made of Leather, like thoſe of the *Numidians*, for Lightneſs ſake, and to prevent their ringing againſt the Rocks. The *Ligurian* himſelf

himſelf leading the Way, faſten'd Ropes to the craggy Stones and old Stumps of Wood that were among them, for the Soldiers to eaſe themſelves in clamb'ring. Sometimes he pull'd up by the Hand thoſe who were tim'rous, as unus'd to ſuch Work; and where the Aſcent was difficulter than ordinary, he put them one by one before him, without their Arms, which he carry'd after 'em. Every Place where there was a Doubt whether it wou'd bear, he try'd firſt; and by often ſkipping upwards and downwards, then croſſing of one ſide, and making room for his Fellows, he embolden'd them. At length, after a great deal of Time, and very much fatigu'd, they got to the Caſtle: which was quite abandon'd in that Quarter, becauſe the Garriſon, as at other times, were all engag'd in facing the Enemy. As ſoon as *Marius* had Information of this Progreſs made by the *Ligurian*, tho' he had held the *Numidians* in hand by continual Action all the Day, yet then exciting his Men afreſh, and iſſuing out of the Covert of his Vines, he ran under Shelter of the † *Teſtudo*, up to the very Foot of the Mountain; plying them hard at the ſame time with his Batteries, Archers and Slingers from afar. The Beſieged who had often enough broke down our Vines, and even laid them in Aſhes, ſcorning to keep behind their Battlements, leap'd over, and wou'd ſtay on the Rock whole Days and Nights in Bravado; and elated with Succeſs, defy'd the *Romans*; threatned to make them *Jugurtha*'s Slaves; upbraided *Marius* with being a Coward; and behav'd themſelves with the laſt Inſolence. In the mean time, both Aſſailants and Defendents being all very warmly engag'd; thoſe to

† *Which was made by Shields cloſely ſorried and lock'd together, beneath which, as under a Shell, the Soldiers made Approaches to the Walls of Towns.*

to acquire Empire and Honour, and theſe for neceſſary ſelf-Preſervation; the Trumpets and Cornets ſounded on a ſudden with a mighty Clangor behind their Backs. Upon which, firſt the Women and Children that were there to behold the Battel, fled; then they who were next the Walls; and in fine, all both arm'd and unarm'd. Which as ſoon as ever the *Romans* obſerv'd, they preſs'd onward, wounded, kill'd, march'd over the Bodies of the Slain; and breathing after Glory, mounted the Rock; none ſtopping at all for Plunder. By this Accident was a raſh Enterprize ſet to rights, and *Marius* gain'd Reputation from a Fault.

During the Heat of this Tranſaction, *L. Sylla* the Quæſtor arriv'd in the Camp with a very conſiderable Body of Horſe; having been left behind at *Rome*, to raiſe them in *Italy* and among the Allies. And here, becauſe the Thread of my Hiſtory has introduc'd this great Man, I think 'twill be no improper Entertainment to ſay ſomething to his Character and Manners; eſpecially ſince I am not like to have any other Occaſion to do it; and as to *L. Siſenna*, who of all others has given the fulleſt Account of his Affairs, he ſeems not to have ſpoken of him with ſo much Freedom as he ſhou'd have done. *L. Sylla* was then of a Patrician Family, but gone to Decay through the Slothfulneſs of his Anceſtors. He was throughly vers'd in the *Greek* Learning, as well as that of his own Countrey; of a vaſt Courage; addicted to Pleaſure; and yet more ambitious of Glory; in vacant Hours devoted to Luxury, but he never purſu'd it to the hindring of Buſineſs: However, in the Choice he made of a Wife, he conſulted his Reputation but ill; he was eloquent, ſubtle, eaſily your Friend; of a moſt incredible reach of Wit, in putting a Face and Diſguize on Matters; liberal of every thing, eſpecially his

Money; and before his Succeſs in the civil War, the happieſt certainly of all Men living; his Virtue keeping company with his Fortune; inſomuch that many made it a doubt, whether he was more Gallant, or Fortunate. But as to his Management after that, I am at a loſs whether one ſhou'd ſpeak of it with greater Shame, or with greater Grief. *L. Sylla*, as above, being got into *Africa*, and becoming a little converſant in the Camp, from a Man ignorant of War, as at firſt, quickly grew one of the experteſt Soldiers in the Army. Moreover, he was kind and affable to the Men; very Bountiful to any upon aſking, and to divers even of his own accord; backward to receive Benefits himſelf, but forwarder to repay them than if they had been Debts; deſiring no Returns from any body, but willing that all ſhou'd be beholden to him; then, he had a way of joking merrily as well as talking ſeriouſly with the meaneſt. He wou'd every where be preſent with the Soldiers in all their Works, Marches, and Watchings: never ſpeaking ill of the Conſul, or any other Perſon of Worth, according to the way of deprav'd Ambition. And as he wou'd never ſuffer any to go beyond him in either Counſel or Action, ſo for the greateſt part he outdid them. By which Conduct, he ſoon wrought himſelf into the Affections of *Marius* and the Army.

Jugurtha, after the Loſs of *Capſa* and other ſtrong and important Places, together with a great Sum of Money, diſpatches away Meſſengers to *Bocchus*, to haſten his March into *Numidia*; repreſenting, that now was the time for fighting. But receiving Advice that he fram'd Delays, and was ſtaggering in his Mind between the Reaſons that reſpectively made for War and Peace; he had recourſe to his former way of bribing ſuch as had the King's Ear; and promis'd a third part of the Kingdom

Kingdom to the *Moor* himſelf, upon expelling the *Romans*, or compoſing the War upon ſuch Terms, that all his Dominions might be left entire to him. *Bocchus* being captivated by this Offer, came with a great Multitude to his Succour; and both Armies being thus join'd, as *Marius* was going into Winter Quarters, they took the occaſion to fall upon him, tho' hardly the tenth of the Day remain'd: Depending much on the Darkneſs of the Night, to favour their Retreat, if they happen'd to be beaten; or if they were Conquerors, that it cou'd not hinder them from puſhing their Victory, ſince they knew the Ground; but perſuading themſelves that in either Caſe it muſt prove a great Diſadvantage to the *Romans*. In the very inſtant, almoſt, that the Conſul had News of the Enemy's Approach, they were upon him; and before he cou'd put his Army in Order, take care for ſecuring the Baggage, or, in fine, give any Signal or Commands, the *Mooriſh* and *Getulian* Cavalry came on; not in a Body drawn up, or according to a regular way of fighting, but in ſcatter'd Parties, as mere Chance had huddled them together; and charg'd our Men; who, though ſurpriz'd with the ſuddenneſs of the Onſent, yet not forgetting their wonted Bravery, graſped their Arms to attack their Adverſaries, and (ſome) to defend their Fellows till ready. The Troopers alſo haſten'd to mount, to put a ſtop to the Enemies Career; whoſe Engaging was liker a Rencounter of Freebooters, than a Battel of Soldiers: No Ranks or Enſigns were obſerv'd; but Horſe and Foot being mingled together, cut in pieces or bore down their Oppoſers: And many, while they were gallantly fighting their Antagoniſts before 'em, were aſſaulted behind. Neither Valour nor Steel were a Protection; for the Forces of the Kings being ſuperior in Number, ſurrounded and fill'd all Cor-

hers. At length our Soldiers, both old and new ones, who were blended with the former, and by that means had acquir'd ſome Skill with 'em in War; threw themſelves into Oval Bodies, as Chance or the Ground gave Opportunity, and ſo by facing every way, ſuſtain'd more effectually the Shock of the Enemy. *Marius* in all this Difficulty and Diſtreſs was no more diſorder'd than at other Times; but flew about with his own Troop, which was made up of the ſtouteſt Fellows, rather than ſuch whoſe Deſert was Favour with him; reliev'd thoſe who were hard preſs'd; charg'd into the thickeſt of the Enemy; and us'd his Hands like a common Soldier, ſeeing all Commands as a General were to no purpoſe in ſuch a Confuſion. By this time Day-light was quite gone, without the Barbarians abating their Fury; on the contrary, thinking the Darkneſs befriended 'em, as the King's had before order'd, they doubled it. Whereupon *Marius* taking Meaſures from the Poſture of his Affairs, reſolv'd to poſſeſs himſelf of two Hills at a ſmall Diſtance, and near each other, to ſecure a Place of Retreat for his Army. On the leaſt, which had not Space to encamp on, there was yet a large Fountain of Water; and the other was fit for the End he aim'd at, becauſe it was very high and ſteep, and needed but little Fortification. He order'd away *L. Sylla* with the Horſe, to take Poſt for the Night on the former: And himſelf rally'd by Degrees the reſt, who were much diſpers'd, (and the Enemy no leſs) and retir'd in full March with 'em to the latter. The Kings deterr'd by the Difficulties of Acceſs to him from making any farther Attempts, wou'd not however draw off, but lay along inveſting, like Beſiegers, both the Hills with their extended Multitude. During the Night they had a great many Fires, revell'd in Merriment, ſkipp'd

skipp'd about, and made dissonant Noises with their Throats, according to their barbarous way; the Kings themselves being mightily elevated that they had not been routed, and carrying it like Victors. All which was easily discernible by our Men, as standing in the Dark upon upper Ground, and extremely encourag'd 'em. Especially *Marius* being much emboldened to see such want of Discipline in his Adversaries, commands a profound Silence in his Camp, not permitting the Trumpets to sound, upon relieving the Watches, as they us'd to do: And as soon as ever the Day broke, a little before which the Enemy, tir'd with their Jollity, had been seiz'd with Sleep, he orders the Trumpets of the several Legions, Coborts and Troops, with the Tributary ones, to sound of a sudden, and all at once; and the whole Army at the same time to pour down with a loud Shout. The *Moors* and *Getulians* presently waken'd with such a horrid and unusual Noise, cou'd neither fly, nor stand to their Arms, nor had Power to do any thing for themselves: To such a degree were they har'd and stupify'd by the Clangor, Din and Tumult about 'em; by the *Romans* thund'ring on all sides, none to succour them, and nothing but Terror and Amazement spreading it self around 'em. In a word, they were totally overthrown: Most of their Enfigns and Arms taken, and more slain in this Action than in all the preceding put together. For, their being asleep, and surpriz'd so frightfully, hinder'd their saving themselves by Flight.

Marius, as soon as the thing was over, pursu'd his way towards Winter-Quarters, which he meant to take in the Maritime Towns, for the sake of being supply'd with Provisions. In the mean time, his late Victory made him neither remiss nor insolent; But vigilant, as if the Enemy

were in ſight: he march'd his Army in a ſquare Figure, to face the eaſier every way; poſted *Sylla* with the Cavalry on the Right; order'd *A. Manlius* with the Archers and Slingers, and the Cohorts of *Ligurians*, to cover the Left; plac'd the Tribunes with ſeveral Bands of Light-arm'd Foot in the Van and Rear; and us'd the Deſerters, who were acquainted with the Countrey, as Scouts to obſerve the Motions of the Enemy. All the while the Conſul himſelf, as if there had been no other Officer, ſaw to all Things, was up with every Body, prais'd or reprov'd as he found Occaſion, rode about arm'd as for Action, and kept the Men on their Guard as much. Moreover, as he was cautious in his March, he was equally careful to ſecure his Camp; planting the Auxiliary Horſe before it, the Legionary Cohorts to watch at the Gates, others on the Works above the Trenches, and going the Rounds of the whole himſelf; not ſo much from any Diſtruſt that what he had commanded wou'd not be perform'd, as to win the Soldiers to do it chearfully, ſeeing their General ſhar'd with them in their Toils. Indeed, *Marius* on all Occaſions throughout the War, as well as upon this, aw'd 'em into Diſcipline more by the Shame of his own Example, than by puniſhing their Defaults; Which many ſaid proceeded from Ambition and a Deſire in him of Popularity; but others, from his taking Delight in Hardſhips, and the Things that are perfect Miſeries to moſt, as having been bred to them from his Youth. However that were, it was ſuch a Courſe as was more ſerviceable to the Common-wealth, than the greateſt Severities cou'd have been. On the fourth Day, as they were marching along not far from the Town of *Cirta*, the Scouts appear'd on every ſide, haſtning in to the Body of the Army: A ſure Token that the Enemy was at hand:

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But becauſe they return'd from different Quarters, and yet all with the ſame Intelligence; the Conſul uncertain in what Form it was moſt adviſable to draw up his Army, let it remain in the Order it was, and halted to attend the coming of the Kings; having already, as was ſaid before, a Front every way to receive 'em. Accordingly, *Jugurtha* was diſappointed; who having divided his Forces into four Bodies, made account that ſome of 'em, at leaſt, wou'd be able to fall on the *Romans* in their Rear. In the interim, *Sylla*, with whom the Enemy firſt came up, after a brief encouraging of his Men, with ſome of the Horſe cloſely ſerried, advanc'd and briſkly attack'd the *Moors*; while the reſt continuing in their Poſts, defended themſelves as well as they cou'd from the Darts that were thrown at 'em from afar, and as certainly ſlew all ſuch as durſt adventure within their Reach. While the Cavalry were thus engag'd, *Bocchus* with the Foot, which his Son *Volux* had brought up for a Reinforcement, and who having been retarded in their March, had not been preſent in the former Battel, fell in upon the Rear of the *Romans*. *Marius* was then acting in the Front, *Jugurtha* with a numerous Force being there. But the latter, when he heard of *Bocchus*'s Onſet, ſteals away with a few to the Infantry, and cries out to our Soldiers in *Latin*, (which he had learn'd to ſpeak at the Siege of *Numantia*) that it was to no purpoſe for them to contend any longer, ſince he had but a little before diſpatch'd *Marius* with his own Hand: holding up his Sword to be ſeen beſmear'd all over with Blood; tho' indeed 'twas only a Foot-Soldier's, whom he had briſkly fought with and kill'd. The *Romans* were ſtruck with the Horror of the Action, without conſidering the Credit of the Relator; and on the contrary, the Barba-

rians were animated, and taking Advantage of the Surprize of our Men, push'd 'em with a greater Fury than ever; insomuch that they were within a little of plain running. When *Sylla* returning from the Rout of those whom he had gone against, charg'd in upon the Flank of the *Moors*, putting *Bocchus* immediately to Flight. And as for *Jugurtha*, while he was endeavouring to support his Troops, and maintain the Victory so near gotten; being surrounded on each side by the Horse, and all they who were about him slain, he broke single through the thickest of the Enemy to get off clear with his Life. By this time *Marius*, who had overthrown the Cavalry with whom he had been engag'd, came in to the Relief of his Foot, which he heard had been fore'd to give Ground. And now the *Africans* in all Quarters were entirely broke to pieces, and defeated. Then it was, that the Field about presented a Scene most horrid to see to: Flying, pursuing, killing and taking; Men and Horses groveling in Torture; the wounded not able to tarry quietly on the Spot, nor to escape away; striving for their Lives, and staggering along, and then presently dropping down: In a Word, all wherever you cou'd see was strew'd over with Arms and Carcasses, and the Spaces between distain'd with Blood.

Marius, who was now an undoubted Conqueror, march'd without any Trouble to *Cirta*, whither he design'd to have gone before; and where about some five Days after, came Embassadors to him from *Bocchus*, desiring the Consul in the Name of their Master, to send two of the trustiest of his People to confer with him of Matters that concern'd the common Interest of the *Romans* and himself. Upon which *L. Sylla* and *A. Manlius* were dispatch'd to him: Who, though they went at the Instance of *Bocchus*, were yet clearly for

speaking

speaking first, to dispose him to Peace, if he was cold in't; and if forward, to incite him the more to it. And accordingly *Sylla*, to whose Eloquence, more than the Seniority of Years, the other gave the Precedence, thus briefly deliver'd himself.

" We are very glad, King *Bocchus!* that the " Gods at length have given a Heart to such a " Person as you are, to prefer Peace before War; " to take Care of your own Merit, that it be not " stain'd by having to do any longer with such a " Caitiff as *Jugurtha*; and to ease us of the un- " grateful Necessity of prosecuting not only a " Villain, but you your self whom he led away. " The *Romans* from the very Infancy of their " State, when they most needed to enlarge their " Territory, were rather for multiplying Friends " than Subjects: and have always thought it a " better way to make a People easy, than enslave " 'em. Nor can an Alliance with any Power " better secure you, than one with us. For first, " we lye at too great a Distance to offer Wrongs, " or create you Jealousies; yet not so great, but " the Reputation of our being your Friend, as " well as our Strength, will advantage you as " much as if we were Neighbours to ye. And " next, because we have got already enough to " exercise Rule over; but we, or any other " Potentate, can never be over-stock'd with Con- " federates. I cou'd heartily wish for your own " sake, that you had taken these Measures at first, " whereby you wou'd have reap'd greater Ad- " vantages by this time from us, than you have " suffer'd Prejudice. But since there's a Fate that " over-rules most of the Affairs of Mankind; and " her Pleasure was, you shou'd make Tryal as " well of our Force, as now of our Kindness; em-

" brace, Sir, the Liberty ſhe allows you, and haſten " to accompliſh what you have begun. You have " always enough to efface the Memory of paſt Mi- " ſtakes by ſucceeding Services. Reſt aſſur'd that " the People of *Rome* will never be outdone in Be- " nefits. And as to what they can do by Arms, you " have made Proof of that already.

To which *Bocchus* in a gentle manner reply'd, briefly to excuſe his Conduct, " That it was not " from any Hoſtile Intention he had taken up " Arms, but to protect his Dominions; that ha- " ving * ſome time ſince by his Sword wone part " of *Numidia* from *Jugurtha*, and made it his own " by the Laws of War, he cou'd not patiently " look on and ſee it laid waſte by *Marius*; that he " had formerly ſent Embaſſadors to *Rome* to re- " queſt an Alliance, but had been refus'd it; but " that he had rather omit entring into a Diſ- " courſe of things that were paſt; being ready " with the Approbation of *Marius*, to ſend again " to the Senate now. But after Liberty had been given for it, the *Barbarian*'s Mind was again chang'd by the Applications of ſuch about him, as *Jugurtha*, who had receiv'd an Account of this Embaſſy of *Sylla* and *Manlius* and apprehended the Effects of it, had brib'd.

Marius in the mean Time having ſettled the Groſs of his Army in Winter-Quarters, marched away with ſome light Cohorts and Part of the Horſe into the Deſerts, to lay ſiege to the Royal Tower, which *Jugurtha* had garriſon'd with all the Deſerters. When again *Bocchus*, whether re- flecting

* *Some think there had been a Diſpute between the Kings about the Bounds of their Territories, that* Bocchus *had won Ground from the other, and that 'twas afterwards confirm'd to him as a Dower with* Jugurtha's *Daughter.*

flecting on the Iſſue of the two forementioned Battels, or mov'd by the Advice of others of his Friends, that *Jugurtha* had left uncorrupted, picks out five of the beſt reputed of all his Council for Faithfulneſs and Capacity, and orders 'em away (firſt) to *Marius*, and afterwards, with his Permiſſion, to *Rome*: Giving 'em full Power to negociate, and to end the War upon any Terms. Accordingly with all poſſible Haſte they parted for the Winter-Quarters of the *Romans*; But being in their Way beſet by a Gang of *Getulian* Highway-Men, and ſtripp'd of their Equipage, they fled away in a trembling Condition and very ſorry Plight to *Sylla*, who was left behind as Prætor by the Conſul when he went on his forehinted Expedition. *Sylla* received them, not as they deſerv'd, like fickle Enemies, but with great Civility, and very liberally ſupplied their Wants. Upon which the *Barbarians* grew perſuaded that the Talk of the *Romans* Avarice was but Calumny, and that *Sylla* by his Kindneſs muſt needs be their Friend. For the Practice of giving from other Motives was hardly known even at that Time. Every Body that made a Preſent was ſuppoſed to do it from good Will; and all Bounty was aſcrib'd to Benevolence. Whereupon they frankly unfolded to the Quæſtor the Commiſſion with which *Bocchus* had entruſted them; and beſought him to favour 'em with his Aid and Advice; crying up at the ſame Time the Forces, the Grandeur, and the Honour of their Maſter, and ſpeaking ſeveral other Things which they thought either the Intereſt of the *Romans* would appear concern'd in, or at leaſt that would pleaſe 'em. *Sylla* having promiſed them his Aſſiſtance, and inſtructed 'em what they ſhould ſay to *Marius*, and how afterwards to addreſs the Senate, they waited about

forty Days for him. At length the Conſul returned to *Cirta*, without having ſucceeded in his Enterprize. And being inform'd of the Arrival of the *Moors*, he appoints 'em an Audience, and ſends for *Sylla*, with *L. Bellienus* the Prætor from *Utica*, and all others of Senator's Degree: In whoſe Preſence he had *Bocchus*'s Intentions and Demands laid open by the Ambaſſadors; who inſiſted for Liberty to go to *Rome*, and in the interim to have a Ceſſation of Arms. *Sylla* and the greateſt Part of 'em were for it; but ſome there were who furiouſly oppoſed it, ignorant of the Nature of Human Things, which is mutable, and apt to alter for the worſe. The *Moors* having got their Demands granted, three of 'em ſet out for *Rome* with *C. Oſtavius Ruſa*, who was one of the Quæſtors, and had brought Money into *Africa* for the Army, while the other two return'd to their Prince: To whom they related all that had paſt, and particularly the Kindneſs and Good-will of *Sylla*. To the three at *Rome*, after they had own'd in a modeſt Manner the Errors of their King, deſir'd Pardon for his ſuffering himſelf to be led away by the Artifices of *Jugurtha*, and requeſted a Reconciliation and Friendſhip, 'twas anſwer'd, "That the "*Roman* Senate and People were equally mind-"ful of Services and Injuries. But that in as "much as *Bocchus* was penitent, they would paſs "over the Fault he had committed, and admit "him into a League and Alliance as ſoon as his "Merits ſhould entitle him to it.

Of which as ſoon as the King had an Account, he wrote to the Conſul to ſend him *Sylla*, to adjuſt the Matters in Controverſy between 'em. Accordingly he was diſpatch'd away with a Guard of Horſe, Foot, Archers, *Balearic* Slingers, and a *Paligniun* Cohort with light Arms for the ſake

of

of Speed; with which sect they were as well fenc'd as by any other against the Darts of the Enemy, in regard these too were but light. On the fifth Day, as they were marching along, *Volux* the Son of *Bocchus* appear'd all on a sudden in an open Campaign at the Head of about a thousand Horse; who riding scatter'd, and somewhat furiously, seemed not only more than they were, but gave a Mistrust as well to *Sylla* as to all the rest, that they came as Enemies. Whereupon every one made ready, fix'd all his Weapons in Order, and put himself in a Posture for engaging. Some little Fears they were not without; but withal, they had much greater Hopes, as being tried Conquerors, and to fight against those whom they had more than once overcome. In the mean Time the Van-Couriers, who were sent before to discover Matters, return'd with Tidings that all were Friends; and *Volux* afterwards coming up addres'd himself to the Quæstor, and acquainted him that he came thus by Command of his Father at once to do him Honour, and to guard him. Upon which they join'd, and continu'd their March that and the next Day without Suspicion. But in the Evening, after the Camp was pitch'd, the Moor with Fear and Disorder in his Countenance comes in great Haste to *Sylla*, and informs him that he was assur'd by his Spies that *Jugurtha* was but a little Way off; urging at the same Time and beseeching him to retire alone with him in the Night. *Sylla*, with the very Fire in his Eyes, declar'd that he was not at all afraid of the *Numidian*, whom they had beat so often, that he was very well satisfied of the Valour of his Men; and, in short, that though he were sure to perish, he would rather tarry and fight it out, than deserting the Troops with which he was entrusted make Provision by an infamous Flight

Flight for a frail Life, and ſuch peradventure as might ſhortly become the Prey of a Diſeaſe. However, he approv'd of his Advice in the main of diſlodging under the Favour of the Night; and immediately order'd the Soldiers to their Supper, and having lighted abundance of Fires in his Camp, broke up from it with the utmoſt Silence before the expiring of the firſt Watch. And after the Fatigue of his Night-March halted at Sun-riſe, and encamp'd; when all of a ſudden, ſome *Mooriſh* Troopers arrived with Intelligence that *Jugurtha* lay but about two Miles before 'em. As ſoon as this was bruited in the Camp, there was a great Conſternation among our Men, who took it for granted that *Volux* had betray'd 'em, and drawn 'em into an Ambuſcade. Inſomuch that ſome of 'em cried out, That ſuch Villany ought not to go unpuniſhed, but be revenged on the Traytor by cutting him in Pieces. But *Sylla*, though he likewiſe believed the Treachery, yet protected the *Moor* from all Injury: And told his Troops that they muſt rouz'd up their Valour; that it was not the firſt Time that an Handful of brave Fellows had diſcomfited Thouſands; that the bolder they were in Battel, the ſafer; and that none who had Arms in his Hands to fight ſhould look for his Safety from unarmed Feet, and in a general Diſtreſs turn a naked and blind Back to be inſulted by his Enemy. And laſtly, invoking the mighty *Jupiter* to become a Witneſs of the Perfidy of *Bocchus*, he commanded *Volux* to depart his Camp as one who at bottom acted againſt him. On the contrary, he with Tears in his Eyes intreats him to lay aſide his Suſpicions, aſſuring him that there was no Treachery, but that all proceeded from the Subtilty of *Jugurtha*, who by Spies had diſcover'd his Night's March; and that ſince the *Numidian* had no great Force with

with him; and his chief Dependence was upon his Father, he preſum'd that he would not dare to make any open Attempt where the Son muſt be a Witneſs of it; that therefore he thought it the beſt Way to go boldly through the Midſt of his Camp; and that ſending away his *Moors* before, or leaving them behind, as ſhould ſeem fitteſt, he was ready to accompany him ſingly himſelf. This, as in a Caſe of Extremity, being hearken'd to, they ſet forward without any Delay; and arriving on a ſudden before *Jugurtha* had Time to reſolve upon what to do, they paſs'd without any Interruption; and in a few Days got to their Journey's End.

There was then with *Bocchus* a certain *Numidian* called *Aſpar*, who was grown great with him, and who upon *Sylla*'s being thus ſent for had been diſpatch'd to him by *Jugurtha* as his Agent to croſs the Negotiation, and to pry into all the *Moor*'s Reſolutions. He had alſo of his Court one *Bibar*, the Son of *Maſſugrada*, of the Family of *Maſiniſſa*, but not ſo illuſtrious on the female Side, for his Father happen'd to be born of a Concubine. This Perſon being highly in his Favour on account of his many excellent Endowments, and having always been found in the Intereſt of the *Romans*, he deputes him forthwith to wait upon *Sylla*, and acquaint him he was ready to do any Thing that the People of *Rome* ſhould think reaſonable; that the Quæſtor himſelf might appoint a Place and Hour for a Conference; that whatever Meaſures they agreed between them for the better managing the Affair he would approve of; that *Sylla* ſhould not conceive any Jealouſies if he ſaw the Agent of *Jugurtha* there, in regard that their Buſineſs by that Means might be carried on with the leſs Suſpicion; and ſince he had no other Way of warding againſt him, than by laying

ing him asleep. But I find that *Bocchus* in holding at once both the *Romans* and *Numidian* in Hand about Peace, acted more with a *Punic* Dissimulation than on such Reasons as he gave out; having frequent Struggles and Debates in his Mind whether he had best give up *Jugurtha* into the Hands of the *Romans*, or *Sylla* into his; his Inclinations pleading against us, and his Fears of our Power as strongly for us. The Answer that *Sylla* return'd was, That he would say but little before *Aspar*, and reserve the rest to be settled in private with none but himself, or but very few with him; at the same Time instructing *Dabar* as to what Reply should be made him by the King. When they were met, the Quæstor told him that he came by Order of the Consul to know of him whether his Design was for Peace or War. To which he replied, as he had been directed, that he could not resolve upon any Thing then, but desired him to come about ten Days after, at which Time he should have an Answer. Upon this they departed to their several Quarters. But as soon as it grew to the Dead of the Night *Sylla* was secretly sent for by *Bocchus*; and none were admitted on either Side but some to interpret truly between 'em, of whom *Dabar*, before nam'd, a Man of clear Integrity, was one, and who was sworn to be faithful to both. Upon which the King began thus:

" I did never imagine 'twould come to pass
" that I, the greatest Prince in this Countrey,
" and the richest of all that were ever known in't,
" should be beholden to a private Person. Be-
" fore my Knowledge of thee, O *Sylla*, I have
" succour'd Multitudes; many upon begging it,
" and others as freely of my own Accord, but
" never wanted the Assistance of any. And that

" the

" the Caſe is otherwiſe now, which would be a
" mighty Mortification to moſt Monarchs, for my
" own Part I am glad: It's rather my Happineſs
" to ſtand in need at length of ſuch a Friendſhip
" as your's; a Friendſhip I value above every
" Thing, and which I ſhall cultivate with the ut-
" moſt Fondneſs. Try if I am not in good
" Earneſt, and take of my Arms, my Forces,
" and my Money; uſe any Thing of mine as
" you pleaſe; and as long as you live, never ſup-
" poſe I have made you a full Requital for your
" Kindneſſes. No, the Senſe of them ſhall live
" with me always: And there's nothing you
" ſhall deſire in vain, if I know and can help you
" to it: For I think it a greater Diſhonour for a
" King to be out-done in Generoſity than in
" Arms. Now as to the Affairs of your Repub-
" lick, in Behalf of which you are come to treat,
" I ſhall only ſay this in ſhort; That I neither be-
" gan the War with you my ſelf, nor was ever
" deſirous to have it made; I only defended my
" own Territories againſt an armed Force that in-
" vaded 'em. But I paſs that. Carry on the
" War againſt the *Numidian* as you think conve-
" nient: I will neither paſs over the *Mulucha*, the
" Bound that was between me and *Micipſa*, nor
" ſuffer *Jugurtha* on the other Side to do it.
" And if you have any Thing more to aſk that
" is fit for me to do, you ſhall not be re-
" fus'd it.

Sylla to what related to himſelf replied but briefly, and with much Modeſty; but enlarg'd on the Buſineſs of Peace, and of the Publick; and let the King, in fine, underſtand, " That the Offer he
" made would not be taken by the Senate and
" People of *Rome* as a Kindneſs, ſince they were
" ſo ſuperior in Arms to him; that there was
" ſomething,

" ſomething farther to be done, which ſhould " look more for their Intereſt than his own; that " he needed not the Means of performing it, inaſ- " much as he had *Jugurtha* in his Power, whom " if he deliver'd up to the *Romans*, he would " lay the greateſt Obligation upon 'em, and " be freely preſented with Peace, an Alliance, " and the Part of *Numidia* he made Pretenſions " to." At firſt the King refuſed to comply, urging Blood, Affinity, and Engagements; and declaring moreover his Apprehenſions of diſguſting his People, if he gave up *Jugurtha*, in regard they had all an exceeding Love for him, and on the other Hand a Hatred of the *Romans*. But at length by Perſuaſions and Importunity he became flexible, and promiſ'd to do whatever *Sylla* ſhould deſire of him. Then they fell to concerting Meaſures for carrying on the Shew of a Peace that ſhould comprehend the *Numidian* in it, the great Thing that *Jugurtha* aimed at; and after having ſettled between 'em the whole Plot againſt him they parted.

Bocchus the very next Day ſends for *Aſpar*, *Jugurtha*'s Agent, and tells him he had fiſh'd out of *Sylla* by *Dabar* that the War might be made an End of on Conditions; and therefore that he would do well to know the Sentiments of his Maſter about it. *Aſpar* hereupon poſted away with a great deal of Joy to *Jugurtha*'s Camp. From whence he return'd with great Diſpatch after eight Days Abſence fully inſtructed and acquainted the King that *Jugurtha* was ready to yield to every Thing that ſhou'd be demanded; but that he cou'd not rely on any Treaty with *Marius*, ſince Articles made with the *Roman* Generals had been often before now ſet aſide; that if *Bocchus* would conſult the Advantage not only of *Jugurtha* but himſelf, and have ſuch a Peace as ſhou'd hold, he

he ſhou'd get all the Parties together on Pretence of conferring about the Terms of it, and there deliver him up *Sylla*; for that having ſuch a Perſon in his Hands, the Peace would out of mere Neceſſity be agreed to by the *Roman* Senate and People, who would not ſuffer a Man of his Rank, that became a Priſoner by the ſerving his Countrey, and not through any Default of his own, to continue long in the Hands of an Enemy. The *Moor*, after a long pondering the Propoſal in his Mind, at laſt conſented. But whether his taking ſo much Time before he would ſeem determin'd to comply proceeded from Artifice to pretend Doubtfulneſs, or from real Fluctuation, I could never learn. Only 'tis certain, the Wills of Kings, as they are vehement, are alſo changeable, and very often ſelf-contradictory. Wherefore a Time and Place was appointed for holding a Conference about the Peace: In the interim whereof *Bocchus* would ſend (ſometimes) for *Sylla*, and (then) for *Aſpar*, carreſſed each alike in his Turn, and made the ſame Promiſes to both, who thereupon were equally pleas'd and big with Hopes of accompliſhing their Point. But on the Night before the Day upon which the Conference was to be had, the *Moor* called a Council of his Friends, and then preſently altering his Mind diſmiſs'd 'em; and remain'd, as 'tis ſaid, alone, under a great Agitation of Soul, which he made appear plain enough in the various Geſtures of Body, and by his Countenance; diſcovering, though all the while ſilent, by the frequent going and coming of his Colour, the different Workings which he had in his Breaſt. The Reſult was, that *Sylla* was call'd for, and the Plot againſt *Jugurtha* laid as he would have it. To execute which, when Day arriv'd, and Intelligence was brought that *Jugurtha* was approaching,

Boc-

Bocchus with the Quæstor and a few Friends went out to meet him on Pretence of honouring him, and rode up to a little Eminence that was very easy to be seen by those whom they had provided to lie in wait; whither the *Numidian* also coming with many of his Domesticks unarm'd, as is said, the Ambuscade, on a Signal given, rush'd in upon him at once: So all his Retinue was cut in Pieces, and himself deliver'd bound to *Sylla*, who carried him away Captive to **Marius*.

It happen'd about this Juncture that two of our Generals, Q. *Cæpio* and M. *Manlius*, in fighting against the *Gauls* were defeated, which put all *Italy* into a Consternation; it being a Rule both among our Ancestors, as also the *Romans* of these Days, That their Valour could easily make every Thing but the Hardiness of this Enemy submit; but that they fought for their Lives with the *Gauls*, without pretending to acquire Laurels. Now as soon as the News was arrived at *Rome* of the End put to the War in *Numidia*, and that *Jugurtha* was bringing in Chains, *Marius*, though † absent, was made Consul, the Country of *Gaul* decreed him for his Province, and in the Calends of *January* he triumph'd as a Conqueror with very great Magnificence and Glory. From which Time the whole City had their Eyes upon him as their Bulwark and Hope.

* By whom Jugurtha with his two Sons was afterwards, as is said, led in Triumph, and then thrown naked into a Dungeon, where in six Days he was famish'd to Death.

† Contrary to the Custom, which required the Presence of the Party chosen, but was now dispens'd with.

The End of the Jugurthine *War.*

FRAG-

FRAGMENTS
FROM OTHER
HISTORIES
OF
SALLUST.

Out of the FIRST BOOK *these:*

* ALL the Factions and Diſturbances of the State aroſe from the Pravity of human Nature, reſtleſs, unſatisfied, and ſtrugling perpetually for Liberty, Glory, or Arbitrary Power.

The Puiſſance of the *Romans* was very great at the Time that *S. Sulpitius* and *M. Marcellus* were Conſuls: All *Gallia* on this Side the *Rhyne*, and

* *Theſe Fragments are thought to be diſtinct, and are therefore put in ſeveral Paragraphs; yet ſeem to have no ill Coherence; and are ſo inſtructive, that I could not but tranſlate 'em.*

and between * *our* Sea and the Ocean, except what was unpaſſable for Marſhes, being then reduc'd under their Dominion. But the Manners of the Republick were beſt, and Things were tranſacted with moſt Harmony, in the Interval between the ſecond and laſt *Carthaginian* War.

But Ambition and Avarice, and a Spirit of Faction, with the other Attendants of Peace and Proſperity, came in like a Flood after *Carthage* was deſtroy'd. Some Encroachments of the great Men, Dividings thereupon of the Commonalty from the Fathers, and other Diſſentions there were from the Beginning; nor did they, being rid of their Kings, continue to manage with juſt Moderation, any longer than while th' *Etrurian* War was on their Hands, and they were under the Fear of *Tarquin*'s Return. But that being over, the Fathers began to carry it like Lords over the People; to diſpoſe of Life and Death, as their Monarchs; to diſpoſſeſs 'em of their Houſes and Lands; and to govern excluſive of all beſides. Whereby the Commons being greatly oppreſs'd, but above all by the Grievance of Uſury, and the Taxes they paid towards the Wars, which they alſo were forc'd to ſerve in Perſon, they took Arms, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Capitol and *Aventine* Mount. The Iſſue of which was, That they obtain'd Tribunes with Power to defend 'em for the future, together with other Rights and Privileges. And the Heats and Contentions on each ſide ended with the ſecond *Punick* War.

As ſoon as the *Romans*, deliver'd from their Fears of the Power of their *Carthaginian* Rival, were at Liberty to fall into Feuds at home, there aroſe

* *The* Mediterranean.

aroſe abundance of Factions and Diſturbances, which ended at laſt in a Civil War; while a few great ones, in whoſe Favour the reſt had reſign'd as it were their Birth-Rights, ſet up the ſpecious Pretence of maintaining the Power of the Fathers, and (ſometimes) of the People, but aim'd in Reality at promoting their own; and were call'd good Citizens, or the contrary, not for their Merits towards the Publick, they being all equally corrupt, but with Reference to the Meaſure of their Riches and Strength; on the Foot of which, as each was ſucceſsful, he was ſtil'd, forſooth, the Saviour of the State. * From which Period the Manners of our Anceſtors degenerated, not, as before, gradually, but with Precipitation, like a Torrent deſcending: And the Youth was ſo leaven'd with Luxury and Avarice, that it might juſtly be ſaid they were a Generation that could neither retain any Thing of their own, nor would ſuffer others to enjoy theirs.

* *'Tis a Queſtion whether this had Connection originally in our Author with that which precedes; but however that be, the Date of the Period may be fix'd, as I think, from the Ruin of Carthage.*

The

The Speech of the Conſul M. Æmilius Lepidus *to the People of* Rome *againſt* Sylla.

" YOUR Innocence and Tenderneſs, wor-
" thy *Romans!* by which you have ren-
" der'd your ſelves ſo famous among all the Na-
" tions of the World, fill me with Reference to the
" * Tyranny of *Sylla*, only with ſo much greater
" Apprehenſions, that either you'll let your ſelves
" be impos'd on by not believing he'll ever pro-
" ceed to the Perpetration of ſuch Things as
" you think would be execrable to be done by
" you; (for all his Hopes, by the way, are
" built on his own Dexterity at Perfidy and Diſ-
" ſembling. Nor does he deem himſelf other-
" wiſe ſafe, than by being a yet flagranter Vil-
" lain than ever your Fears can forebode, and
" by bringing you into ſuch helpleſs Circum-
" ſtances that you ſha'n't attempt the recover-
" ing your Liberty;) or if you're awaken'd,
" and ſhall arm againſt him, that a bare ſelf-de-
" fence will content you, without taking Re-
" venge on his Ambition. For his Penſioner-
" Guard, who happen to be Men of the moſt
" exalted Figure and Names, and ſtock'd no leſs
" with noble Examples of Forefathers for their
" Imitation, I can't enough admire at their
" Conduct, who purchaſe the Lording it over
" you

* *This Harangue is ſuppos'd to have been made after* Sylla *had quitted the Dictatorſhip, and level'd againſt the Tyranny he continued to exerciſe by his Creatures, who are afterwards ſtruck at.*

" you with the dear Price of their own Liber-
" ties, and had rather on any Terms tyrannize,
" than live free and by Rules of Juſtice. Egregious
" Offspring of the *Brutus's* and *Æmilii!* Illuſtri-
" ous Progeny of the great *Lutatii!* Born to
" ſubvert thoſe Things which their Anceſtors
" rear'd and ſettled by their Virtue! For what
" was it elſe for which they contended againſt
" the mighty *Pyrrhus* and *Hannibal*, *Philip* and
" *Antiochus*, but the Cauſe of Liberty, and
" for every *Roman* to enjoy his own, without
" Subjection to any but the Laws? Which our
" outragious *Romulus*, that would be, tears from
" us like Spoils from an Enemy; as not ſatisfied
" with the Blood and Slaughter of ſo many Ar-
" mies of *one* Conſul, and of other Chiefs that the
" Sword has deſtroyed; nay, he grows but more
" barbarous on his Conqueſts; which when over,
" the Fury of others uſes to ſoften into Compaſ-
" ſion. Moreover, he is the only Man that was
" ever known to extend his *Puniſhments to the
" Children (poſſibly) unborn, whoſe Fate it will
" be to begin to ſuffer as ſoon as ever they begin
" to live; and he ſhamefully acts his Rage with
" Impunity, protected by the very Greatneſs of
" his Villanies; while you are deterred from re-
" ſuming your Liberty by the Fear that your
" Yoke will be made the Heavier. Away with
" this, we muſt rouze, O *Romans!* we muſt up,
" and act, and encounter the Oppreſſor, leſt he
" go off with all that we have. We are not to
" dally, nor hope by Prayers or lazy Wiſhes to
" advantage our ſelves; unleſs you fancy that
" tired with his Tyranny, or aſhamed of it, he will

* *By diveſting the Children of the Proſcrib'd of all the Privi-
leges of the Commonwealth.*

" run the greater Hazard of quitting what he " has ravished by Injustice. Alas! He has gone " so far, that he looks upon nothing glorious but " as it serves to secure him, and every Thing " tending to the Conservation of his ill-gotten " Power he accounts honest. So that the Peace " and Quiet with Liberty, which good Men use " to prefer to Hurry and Fatigue, though attend- " ed with Honours, are of no Signification with " *Him*. Matter are brought to such a Pass, that " we must either resolve to rule, or be Slaves; " and must live in a State of Fear our selves, or " become, my Countreymen, a Terror to our " Adversaries. For where's there any Medium " in the Case? And what one Thing is there of " Human or Divine that remains unviolated? " The People of *Rome*, who the other Day could " boast themselves the Masters of the World, be- " reft now of Empire and Glory, without Law, " and helpless and despis'd, have hardly the * Al- " lowance of Slaves left 'em. Great Part of our " Allies, and of *Latium*, who were by your una- " nimous Act invested with the Privileges of *Ro- " man* Citizens, in Consideration of their nume- " rous Services, are debarr'd 'em by this one " Man: And the Houses and Lands of our inno- " cent Commonalty, and their Fathers before " 'em, are seiz'd upon as a Prey by a few Crea- " tures of a Tyrant, that their Wickedness may " not be unrewarded. The Treasury, Provinces, " Potentates abroad, Power of Life and Death " over Citizens, and, in short, all Jurisdiction " and Law are now in the Hands of a single Per- " son. And what a wanton spilling of Blood;

" what

* *Referring to the Distributions of Corn which us'd to be made.*

" what deteſtable Sacrifices, even human, and " (alas!) of *Romans*, have we ſeen made? Now " in ſuch a Caſe, is there any Thing left for *Men* " to do but to root up the Tyranny, or loſe " their Lives with Honour in the Attempt? Eſpe- " cially ſeeing Death is a Fate that will viſit all " though immur'd in Steel: But none but one " of the Cowardice of a Woman, will wait in " a tame Manner for the Blow, without making " an Effort to repel it. But *Sylla*, it ſeems, " will needs have it that I am a turbulent Per- " ſon in the Government: Doubtleſs, becauſe I " declaim againſt the rewarding of turbulent Fel- " lows and Incendiaries. He ſays I am fond of " raiſing a War: I ſuppoſe it is for that I appear " zealous for recovering Peace and Liberty toge- " ther. He calls me a Man of a reſtleſs Spirit; " If I am, 'tis becauſe your preſent Condition is " ſuch that you can't be ſafe unleſs ſuch Fellows " as *Vettius Picens* and the Notary *Cornelius* be " let alone to ſquander away the Eſtates of " others, who were forc'd to acquire them by the " Sweat of their Brows, and an honeſt Induſtry: " And unleſs you approve of all the Proſcrip- " tions of innocent People, becauſe of their " Wealth; of the torturing Men of the firſt " Rank; of the laying waſte and unpeopling the " City, by murdering of many, and driving away " others: And of ſelling or prodigally giving " away the Effects of the miſerable Citizens of " of *Rome*, as if they were ſo many * *Cimbrian* " Spoils. He farther objects to me the Share " that I have my ſelf of the Goods of the pro- " ſcrib'd. But this I turn upon him by obſerv-

* *Referring to the Booty taken from the* Cimbrians, *over whom but a little before* Marius *had gain'd a compleat Victory.*

" ing, That 'tis one of the greateſt Inſtances of " his Tyranny, that neither I nor any Body elſe " had been ſafe if we had acted well: And what " I was forc'd to buy out of Fear, I will legally " reconvey to the Owners upon repaying my " Purchaſe-Money; being fully reſolv'd to have " no Part in the Plunder or Properties of my Fel- " low-Countreymen. Let us think enough the " Things that we have ſuffer'd, like Madmen all, " to be done amongſt us; *Romans* fighting againſt " *Romans*, and our Arms turn'd from Strangers " on our ſelves. Let an End at length be put to " Impiety, and all the Calamities of an Arbi- " trary Power. For which *Sylla*'s ſo far from " ſhewing any Remorſe, that he glories in his " Deeds, and would act, if he might, the ſame " Game over again with a higher Hand. Nor " am I under the leaſt Apprehenſion that you " think otherwiſe of him than I do: I am only " afraid how far you will dare; and that looking " idly one upon another, expecting who will " begin the Work, you'll let your ſelves be fore- " clos'd and prevented: Not by his Strength, " which is dwindled and weak, but your *own* " Cowardice, and before you'll come to the " Point of acting, and be as fortunate as reſolute. " For, except the corrupt Creatures about him, " who is there will ſtand by him? Or rather, " Where's the Man that deſires not, bating the " Advantages he has made by Victory, to ſee " every Thing unravell'd? You'll tell me, *The* " *Soldiers*. By all Means! For their Blood has " been ſpill'd to enrich the baſeſt of Slaves, *Tarrula* " and *Scyrrhus*. Or will thoſe ſtick to him who " are barr'd of the Magiſtracy for the Sake of *Fuſi-* " *dius*, that Male Chambermaid, the Blemiſh of " every Poſt he is preferr'd to. For my own Part, " I have no Doubt but you'll find your ſelves join'd

" by

" by the Victor-Army, who after all their Wounds
" and Fatigues perceive they have nothing but a
" Tyrant for the Upſhot; unleſs we can think 'em
" willing to aboliſh the Power of the Tribunes,
" which their Forefathers eſtabliſhed with ſo much
" Labour and Blood; and to ſtrip themſelves
" bare of their own Authority: A Recompence
" worthy of all their Toils! when ſent home
" to their Woods and Marſhes, they ſhall find
" Hate and Reproach for their Portion, while
" others go off with the Booty of the Conqueſt.
" Whence is it then that he ſtrides it ſo haughtily
" with a Multitude about him without Controul?
" Why, becauſe his Villany is varniſhed by Suc-
" ceſs; but *that* failing, he'll become as deſpis'd
" by every one as he is now fear'd. Unleſs
" you'll delude your ſelves with the Proſpect of a
" peaceable Settlement; with Pretences of which
" he endeavours to palliate his enſlaving his
" Country. He tells us the War will have no
" End till the Commons Eſtate (barbarous prey-
" ing of a vile Uſurper!) are taken from them,
" and till all the Juriſdiction and Powers, which
" was the People of *Rome*'s, be put into his
" Hands. If you call *this* a peaceable Setttle-
" ment, fairly approve of the worſt Uſurpations,
" and even of the Ruin of the Commonwealth;
" ſubmit to the Laws of every Impoſer; em-
" brace a Peace on the Foot of Servitude; and
" deliver down to Poſterity a Precedent, how
" the People of *Rome* may be led into laying out
" their Blood to their own Deſtruction. For
" my own Part, though I want nothing, through
" the high Station I am now in, to protect me
" againſt all Enemies, or to keep up my Gran-
" deur, or the Honour of my Family; yet I am
" reſolv'd it ſhall never be ſaid I purſue only my
" private Intereſts, and prefer Bondage attended

" with Quiet to a Liberty not to be gained but
" with Hazards. And if *you*, my Countreymen,
" have the ſame Reſolutions, Up with *me*, and
" by the Help of the Gods follow the Conſul
" *M. Æmilius* as your Leader, in order to reſcue
" and recover your Liberty.

The Speech of L. Philippus *againſt* Lepidus.

" COuld I have my Wiſh, moſt Illuſtrious Fa-
" thers, the Commonwealth ſhould always
" remain in a State of Tranquillity, or be reſcu'd
" from Trouble by the Hands of the moſt Vir-
" tuous and Brave; and the Miſchief projected
" againſt it by its Enemies be turned back on
" their own Heads. But all is inverted, and
" every Thing among us is over-run by Diſorder
" and Faction, and this promoted too by the
" Men whoſe Duty it was to have ſecur'd our
" Quiet. The wiſeſt and beſt of us are oblig'd to
" execute whatever Fools and Villains reſolve on:
" For Arms muſt be taken, and to War we muſt
" go, becauſe, forſooth, it is the Pleaſure of
" *Lepidus*, how much ſoever it be *your* Averſion.
" But perhaps, though you are Friends to Peace,
" yet you have not the Courage to oppoſe a War.
" Good Gods! That the Perſons who call them-
" ſelves Governors of *Rome*, ſhou'd abandon the
" Care of it! *M. Æmilius*, the meaneſt of all
" Caitiffs, and touching whom it is hard to ſay
" whether he has moſt of the Raſcal or Coward,
" Heads an Army for oppreſſing our Liberty,
" and from a pitiful Fellow has made himſelf
" formi-

" formidable; while you only muttering to your " ſelves, and encountring him with Words and " with Prophecies of Diviners, diſcover your " Diſpoſition to Peace, without daring to appear " in its Defence, or conſidering how far the " Tameneſs of your Conduct will inſpirit your " Adverſary, and leſſen your ſelves. Nor can " this Effect be juſtly complained of, after you " have let him raviſh the Conſulate, and acquire " a Province and Army by Sedition. What had " he gain'd, had he merited of the Publick, when " his Villanies meet with Rewards ſo exorbitant? " But ſuch, you will urge, as have ſtood firm to " their Votes for Commiſſioners, Overtures of " Agreement and Complements to be ſent him, " have obtain'd Favour with him. By no Means: " They're deſpis'd for their Sneaking, thought un- " worthy the Name of *Romans*, and fitteſt of all " to be made his Prey; who ſollicit the Reſtora- " tion of Peace in the ſame daſtardly manner " that they loſt it. For my own Part, from the " very Beginning, when I ſaw *Etruria* engaged in " his Deſign, the Proſcrib'd got together about " him, and the Publick wrought into Factions " by his Bribes, I judg'd there was no Time to " be loſt, and therefore immediately with a few " others went into *Catulus*'s Meaſures for oppo- " ſing him. To them who cried up the mighty " Services the *Æmilian* Family had done for the " State, and inſinuated how the Greatneſs of " *Rome* had been very much owing to a Spirit of " Forgiveneſs, it did not appear that *Lepidus* as " yet had made any conſiderable Steps. After he " had actually taken Arms without your Autho- " rity, and to oppreſs your Liberties, every one " minding his own Stake, left the Publick naked, " and, to ſhift. But *Lepidus* made at that Time " little more than the Figure of a Highway-Man,

" attended with a Company of Camp-Boys, and " with ſome few Cut-throats about him; Fellows " who are ready upon any Occaſion to ſell their " Lives for a Meal's Meat. Whereas he is now " in the Place of Conſul, inveſted with Autho- " rity, (not * purchas'd, but yielded him by *you*,) " and has Legates under him, who by our Laws " are bound to obey him. There are alſo flock'd " to him great Numbers of the raſcally People " of all Sorts, enrag'd by Want and their Luſt " after Rapine, hurried away by the haunting " Guilt of their own Minds to every Thing that's " deſperate; Villains who are turbulent and reſt- " leſs in Peace, never at Eaſe but in the Midſt of " Seditions, and perpetually ſowing Tumult upon " Tumult, and blowing up one War out of ano- " ther: The Followers (formerly) of *Saturnius*, " ſome Time after that of *Sulpicius*, then of *Ma- " rius* and *Damaſippus*, and now of their worthy " Succeſſor *Lepidus*. Moreover, *Etruria*, and all " the Remains of the † lately Conquer'd are up " on his Behalf; both the *Spains* are ſollicited to " riſe; *Mithridates* waits on the Frontier of our " Conqueſts (that have hitherto been our main " Support) for a proper Seaſon to open a War " with us; and, in ſhort, our Adverſaries want " nothing but a fit Leader to bid fair for entirely " overthrowing our Government. I beſeech you " then, O Fathers, and conjure you to ariſe and " take the Care of our Affairs; and not to ſuffer " the Madneſs of Rebels to ſpread it ſelf, like a " Plague, to the ſound and, as yet, well affected " to the State: For who will continue loyal for " nothing, when Villains can get ſo much by be- " ing

* *Which* before *was his Way of obtaining Power.*

† *Thoſe who had been of* Marius's *Party.*

" ing otherwiſe? Or are you diſpos'd to ſtand ſtill
" till an Army comes up again to your Gates, and
" to look on while your Enemy enters and ravages
" your City with Fire and Sword? which upon the
" Foot of his preſent Circumſtances, he will more
" naturally be diſpos'd to do, than to prefer Peace
" to civil Arms; which againſt all Rights both Di-
" vine and Human he has taken up; not to re-
" dreſs any Wrongs of his own, or of thoſe whoſe
" Cauſe he pretends to vindicate, but to over-
" throw our Liberty and Laws. Diſtracted he
" is in his Mind extremely; puſh'd by Ambition
" on one Hand; with-held by a guilty Dread on
" the other: reſtleſs and unknowing what to re-
" ſolve on; trying this way, and that, and the
" contrary: Peace he's afraid of, and War he
" diſreliſhes: Thinks that his Luxury and Ty-
" ranny will be curb'd; but in the interim makes
" his Advantage of your Conduct. Which I know
" not what Name I ſhall call by, whether of Cow-
" ardice, Negligence, or Madneſs; while every
" one of you, ſenſible of the Danger, and as ap-
" prehenſive of it as of Thunder, wiſhes it may
" not fall upon himſelf, yet makes not the leaſt
" Motion to prevent it. See, I beſeech you, how
" the Caſe is alter'd from what it was heretofore!
" Then, if the Publick was to be attack'd, it was
" ſtruck at by its Enemies ſecretly; and defended,
" again, by its Friends as openly: wherein the lat-
" ter had an evident Advantage over their diſaf-
" fected Antagoniſts. But now the Invaſions are
" barefac'd, while the Oppoſition dares not be
" ſeen. And they who have a bad Cauſe are in
" the Field, while you are trembling at home
" with a good one. What is it you mean? But
" perhaps you are aſham'd, as well as unwilling,
" to appear for your Country. Are you mov'd
" by the Declaration of *Lepidus*? who commands

" you to reſtore to every Man his own, but de-
" tains the Properties of others himſelf; declares
" againſt all Pretences of Conqueſt, and yet is in
" Arms to compel you to Obedience; will have
" our Conſtitution be confirm'd, but has taken
" Meaſures that it may not act; and in fine, in-
" ſiſts on a Reſtitution of the Tribunitial Authority
" to the Mob, as the Means (forſooth) to keep
" us in Peace, tho' in Truth 'twas the Source of
" all our Contentions. Baſeſt and moſt impu-
" dent of Men! are the Miſeries and Fears of un-
" happy Citizens become thy Concern, who poſ-
" ſeſſeſt nothing at the ſame Moment but by
" Arms and Oppreſſion? thou ſetteſt up for ano-
" ther Conſulate, as if the former were yielded
" up; thou ſeekeſt for ſham Peace, by a War
" that robs us of the Real we had before: Rebel
" to us! Deceiver of thy own Side! Enemy
" of all honeſt Men! who valueſt neither the
" Deities nor Men, but haſt abus'd both by thy
" * Perjury and Perfidiouſneſs! And ſince thou
" art ſuch a one, I wou'd have thee retain thy
" Arms, and go on with thy Deſign; and not by
" ſpinning the Matter out keep us in Suſpence,
" uneaſy thy ſelf. Neither the Provinces, nor
" the Conſtitution, nor our Houſhold Gods can
" bear thy continuing a Member of the Republick
" any longer. Proceed in the Meaſures thou haſt
" made Choice of, that thou may'ſt the ſooner meet
" with thy Deſerts. But you, O Fathers! How
" long do you intend to encounter Arms with
" nothing but Words? How long by an unac-
" countable dallying to riſque the Deſtruction of
" the Common-wealth? Militia's are rais'd and
muſter'd

* *Having upon nulling the Acts of* Sylla, *much againſt the Mind of the Senate, ſworn to them that he wou'd never make War againſt his Country with the Army they entruſted to him.*

" muſter'd againſt you; Money's extorted from
" the Publick and others; the Garriſons in your
" ſtrong Places are chang'd; and your Laws ſub-
" jected to the Will of your Enemy: While you
" in the interim ſit debating, and only depute
" Commiſſioners to treat with him. But aſſure
" your ſelves, the earneſter you are in ſuing for
" Peace, the farther he'll be from it, finding your
" Cowardice like to ſupport him better than the
" Juſtice of his own Cauſe. They among you
" that declaim againſt War, as averſe to the ſhedding
" of *Roman* Blood, and therefore adviſe you to
" ſit ſtill at the ſame time that *Lepidus* is in Arms;
" are for having you ſuffer, as a vanquiſhed ſide,
" what, if you pleaſe, you may impoſe on your
" Adverſaries: and perſuade you to lye Hand-
" bound in Peace, while the other's at Liberty to
" deſtroy with War. If theſe Things are reliſhing
" to you, and ſuch a Stupidity is come upon your
" Minds, that forgetting the late Villanies of *Cin-*
" *na*, by admitting of whom into your City,
" every thing was turn'd into Outrage and Diſ-
" order, you will nevertheleſs give up your ſelves
" with your Wives and Children into *Lepidus*'s
" Hands; what need we ſtand forming Reſolu-
" tions? what need we look to *Catulus* for As-
" ſiſtance? in vain is he, or any of our Patriots
" zealous for your Safety, if you won't ſup-
" port 'em. Do as you pleaſe: apply for Pro-
" tection to *Cethegus* and ſuch other Traytors,
" who long to renew their Ravages and Burnings,
" and againſt to inſult the Gods of their Country.
" But if you're for Liberty, and will arm in its
" Defence, take Reſolutions worthy of the
" Cauſe, and enlarge the Power in the Hands of
" your Patriots. You have at your Devotion the
" new Army, † Coloniſes of Veterans, all the
" Nobility.

† *Meaning the old Soldiers of* Sylla.

" Nobility, together with the moſt ſkilful Com-
" manders; and Fortune ſucceeds the beſt Men.
" In fine, the Force that your Enemy has ga-
" ther'd by your Remiſſneſs will ſcatter on your
" appearing. I move then that, as *Lepidus* is
" advancing without, nay, againſt your Autho-
" rity, with an Army of Ruffians up to your
" Gates, *Appius Claudius* as * King for the Oc-
" caſion, with *Q. Catulus* Pro-Conſul, and the
" others in Power, be appointed to take Care of
" the City, and to guard the Republick from all
" Danger.

Out of the SECOND BOOK *theſe.*

A *Ligurian* Woman whoſe Name was † *Corſa*, obſerving that a Bull out of the Herd which ſhe look'd after by the Sea-ſide, wou'd now and then ſwim over to the oppoſite Shore, and after ſome ſtay, come home with a Belly full ſtrutting out; was deſirous to find out the unknown Paſture: And watching the Bull next time he went, follow'd after him in a Shallop to the Iſland. Upon whoſe Return, the *Ligurians* being told of the extraordinary fruitfulneſs of the Place, they ſail'd over to it, and call'd the Iſland by the Name of the Woman that diſcover'd and led 'em to it.

* Interrex. *Who was conſtituted only upon Special Occaſions, to ſupply the Room of a Conſul.*

† *From the Accident mention'd in this Fragment, the Hiſtorian deduces the Original of the Iſland of* Corſica, *as to its Name.*

4 *Metellus*

† *Metellus*, after a Year's Abſence, returning into the farther *Spain*, was receiv'd in mighty Triumph and Pomp in the ſeveral Places he paſs'd through: Multitudes of People of both Sexes from all Parts flocking to the Roads, and crowding the Tops of Houſes to ſee him. And the Quæſtor *C. Urbinus*, with others, at a Supper to which they invited him, knowing his Temper, exceeded all that had ever been done by the *Romans* or other People in their Feaſts; adorning the Houſe with Tapeſtries, with Enſigns, and with gorgeous Scenes that were fitter for a Play-houſe; and ſtrewing the Floor and every thing round with ſprinkled Saffron, like perfuming a Temple. Moreover, as the Image of Victory by a Rope was let down over his Chair, with a Noiſe fram'd to imitate Thunder, and plac'd the Crown of Conqueror on his Head; Incenſe was offer'd as to a Deity in Preſence. Inſtead of the plain Attire of the Gown, he was cloath'd with a rich Purple Robe. And the moſt exquiſite Dainties were provided; to ſupply which they ranſack'd not only the whole Province, but the Parts beyond Sea; having caus'd to be brought from *Mauritania*, a great many Sorts both of Fleſh and Fowl, that were never known or heard of before. But theſe Things abated his Value, eſpecially with the wiſe and ancienter Men, who thought 'em too bordering upon regal Pride, and unſuitable to the Plainneſs of the Republick.

† *This Paſſage among the Fragments being uſeful, and in ſome few entire, I thought it worth the while to tranſlate it.*

Out

Out of the THIRD BOOK *these.*

The Epiſtle of Cn. Pompey *to the Senate.*

" WEre it Matter of Fact that I had laid out
" my Life, and diſtinguiſh'd my Zeal on
" as many Occaſions in fighting againſt you and
" my Country, as I have from my Youth in
" defeating your Enemies, and ſecuring thereby
" your Safety and Repoſe; you cou'd never, O
" Fathers! I think, have treated me in a crueller
" manner than you now do. For after having
" expos'd me ſo * young to wage War with the
" † fierceſt of Enemies, you compel me (as much
" as in you lies) with an Army, that deſerves a
" different Uſage, to periſh with Hunger, the
" worſt of Deaths. Was it for this that the Peo-
" ple of *Rome* ſent out their Sons into the Field?
" Are theſe the Rewards we muſt have for our
" Wounds, and the Blood we have ſo prodigally
" ſhed in your Service? Tir'd with writing and
" ſending Couriers to no purpoſe, I have been
" forc'd for Subſiſtence to conſume all I had of
" my own; having hardly in the Space of three
" Years receiv'd from you the Pay of one. What,
" in the Name of the Gods, do you expect from
" me? Do you think me an Exchequer, or capable
" of ſupplying an Army without Proviſions or
" Money? I perceive I was more forward than
" adviſ'd in the Undertaking of this War: I
" rais'd an Army in forty Days time, after you
had

* *Scarce thirty Years old at that time.*
† Sertorius.

" had given me the Title of General; diſlodg'd
" the Enemy from our Frontiers and the *Alps*,
" and puſh'd them even as far as *Spain*; open'd
" another ſort of Paſſage than that of *Hannibal*,
" and more Commodious; recover'd *Gaul*, ‡ *La-*
" *letania*, * *Largatum*, and the Paſts about the
" *Pyreneam* Mountains; with raw Troops and a
" Number inferior, ſtood the firſt Shock of the
" conquering *Sertorius*; and winter'd, not in
" Quarters in the Towns, or ſo as to conſult my
" own Pleaſure, but, in the Field, ſurrounded by
" a furious Enemy. Need I to enter into a De-
" tail of the Battels fought, Winter Expeditions,
" and Towns batter'd down, or otherwiſe redu-
" ced! Things ſpeak more effectually than Words.
" The taking the Enemy's Camp at the † *Sucro*;
" the Battel at the * *Durius*; the defeating *C. He-*
" *rennius*, and the reducing *Valantia*, are well
" known to you. For all which, with a ſingular
" Gratitude you requite us, moſt honourable Fa-
" thers! with ſtarving. I am here in the ſame
" Circumſtances with the Enemy; for neither of
" us have any thing to ſubſiſt on; and both of
" us might march unoppos'd into *Italy*: Which I
" warn and beſeech you to conſider of well, and
" not put me under a Neceſſity of providing for
" my ſelf to your Diſadvantage. As for all of the
" hither *Spain*, not in the Poſſeſſion of our Adver-
" ſaries, I or *Sertorius* have devour'd it to the
" Bone; except only the Sea-Ports, which in-
" ſtead of being Uſeful, have hitherto been a
" Charge to me. *Gaul* was almoſt exhauſted by
ſupplying

‡ *Said to be* Catalonia.

* *The Countrey, I conceive, about* Tarragona.

† *The Name of a River as well as a City; to which former I chuſe to make the Matter refer: Said to be now the* Xucar.

* *Now the* Duero.

" ſupplying *Metellus*'s Army the laſt Year; and
" now by failing Harveſts in this, is ſcarce able
" to ſupport it ſelf. I have ſpent not only my
" own Subſtance, but worn my Credit it ſelf bare;
" and have nothing left to depend on but you;
" without Succour from whom, I foretel you, that
" the Army, whether I will or no, will moſt aſ-
" ſuredly march from hence, and carry the whole
" War with 'em into *Italy*.

The Speech of Macer Licinius, *the Tribune, to the Commons.*

" WEre you inſenſible, Gentlemen, of the
" Difference between the Privileges left
" you by your Anceſtors, and the Slavery *Sylla*
" impos'd upon you, I wou'd be at the Pains to
" open at large the Nature of thoſe Oppreſſions
" for which, and the ſeveral times that the Peo-
" ple of *Rome* taking up Arms, divided from the
" Fathers, and obtain'd Tribunes for defending
" their Rights: But I have nothing to do but to
" ſtir you up to the Recovery of your Liberty,
" and to lead you the way to it. I know very
" well with what Diſadvantage I, a ſingle Per-
" ſon, unaided, and enjoying only a Shadow of
" Authority, encounter the Power of our Nobi-
" lity, and endeavour to fruſtrate their ambi-
" tious Deſigns; and how much ſafer the worſt
" of Men in a Combination can carry on their
" Projects, than the beſt Patriots can by them-
" ſelves. But, beſide the Dependence I have on
" you, which has made me diſmiſs all Fear, I
" conceive it more honourable for a brave Man
" to be (even) defeated in the Conflict for Li-
" berty,

" berty, than not to have ſtruggled for it all.
" All the Tribunes you have hitherto had, from
" a Fondneſs to ingratiate themſelves with the Fa-
" thers, or corrupted by Bribes, or Proſpects of
" Account in it, have employ'd their Strength and
" Authority againſt you: rather chuſing to be
" Traytors with Gain, than to behave faithfully
" and get nothing. And therefore they have
" all given way to the Domination of a few
" great ones; who, buoy'd up by a Military Ti-
" tle, have taken upon 'em the Diſpoſal of the Trea-
" ſury, Armies, Kingdoms, Provinces, and every
" thing, and have made themſelves ſtrong by your
" Spoils: While you, in the interim, ſuffer your
" ſelves, a Multitude by an Handful, to be dealt
" with like Sheep, and fleec'd of all that was left
" you by your Anceſtors; except only the liberty
" of chuſing, not, as formerly, Magiſtrates to de-
" fend you, but ſo many Lords to manage you at
" Diſcretion. To them therefore do your Tri-
" bunes go over; and if you'll aſſert and regain
" your Rights, you'll find 'em return to you a-
" gain: For in Revolutions, 'tis but a few have the
" Bravery to ſtand to what they had ſided with;
" the reſt chuſing to fall in with the Tide of Power,
" and the uppermoſt Party. Can you, in caſe of
" your being unanimous in maintaining your Pri-
" vileges, juſtly apprehend any hurt from thoſe
" who appear afraid of you, even while you ſit
" ſtill and are tame? Unleſs you will think it was
" not out of fear, that *C. Cotta*, a Conſul of the
" trimming Faction, reſtor'd ſome of the Privile-
" ges of your Tribunes. Tho' they had the Har-
" dineſs to fall upon *L. Siſinius*, the firſt Man who
" dar'd to appear in defence of the Tribunitial Au-
" thority, while you only mutter'd in private; yet
" they began to dread your Reſentment, before
" you had the Courage to ſhew any. A Conduct

" which

" which I cannot ſufficiently admire in you. For " you all know there is nothing to be hop'd from " 'em. You flatter'd your ſelves, that the Death " of *Sylla* would break the Yoke that his Wicked- " neſs had impos'd on you; but *Catulus*, a worſe " Tyrant, ſucceeded him. After that, you had " trouble enough in the Conſulate of *Brutus* and " *Æmilius Mamercus*. Then *C. Curio* ſet up him- " ſelf, and lorded it to the Ruin of your innocent " Tribune. And how *L. Quinctius* was oppos'd " by *Lucullus* the laſt Year, you were all Wit- " neſſes: As you are of the Uproar * and Inſur- " rection that is *now* ſtirr'd up againſt me; which " could be to no manner of purpoſe, had they a- " ny Intention of treating you for the future in a " better manner for your Moderation: Beſides, " that in theſe Civil Contentions, whatever Pre- " texts are made uſe of, the Aim of every one at " the bottom is only to become Maſter of you. " There are many things which Reſentment or A- " varice, or the Licence of the Times have en- " gag'd our great Ones in a warm Purſuit of for ſome " time; but one there is they have always been " conſtant to, and that is the Project of aboliſhing " for ever (if it be not already deſtroyed) the " Power of your Tribunes, that great Fence pro- " vided by your Fore-fathers to your Liberty. " Think, I beſeech you, and be ſenſible of this. " Give not your Cowardice a wrong Appellation, " nor call your Slavery by the Name of Tranquil- " lity; which, if you put ſuch Shams on your " ſelves, you will not now have the Privilege of " enjoying, nor face ſo well as you might have " done, in caſe you had never made any ſtir. A-

" wake

* Referring, as ſome think, to the then Inſurrection of Spartacus the Gladiator.

" wake then, and assure your selves, that unless " you resolutely break your Chains, they'll draw " 'em but straiter about your Necks; as knowing " the safer Course for 'em will be, to make " *Thorough-Work* of it in oppressing you. What " then are we to do, will you say? Why, first, " as to your present Behaviour of letting your " Tongues run at random, Hearts of Mice at the " same time, and not concern'd any longer for " Liberty than while in the publick Place of De- " bate, I would have you reform it by all means. " And next, do not expect I should call you to the " resolute Measures your Fore-fathers took for " obtaining the Assent of the Nobles, in Votes re- " lating to the Good of the Publick; I mean, the " setting up and maintaining a Senatorian Autho- " rity in your Tribunes. Tho' whether you will " not willingly endure as many Toils for the *de-* " *fending your Rights*, as they would oblige you to " undergo by way of *Suffering*, must be left to your " selves. Is it *Jove*, or some other of the Gods, " you expect shou'd advise you in this case? The " haughty Decrees of the Consuls and Senators you " authorize by your Execution of 'em: And you " ratify, Gentlemen, by your own Obsequiousness " all the Oppressions they put upon you. † Well, " I don't for my own part stir you up to revenge " your Wrongs; be quiet and easy, if you so please: " I am not for blowing up Coals of Dissention, as " they accuse me, but desire an end of it, by de- " manding a Restitution of your Rights, according " to the Law of Nature and Nations; and if they " will not part with them to you, I say nothing

" of

† 'Twas without doubt the stirring up the People to take Arms, that was chiefly aim'd at by this Speech; only the Tribune did not care to open himself too plainly in the case.

" of Arms or Inſurrections: Only do not give up
" your Blood any longer a Sacrifice to theſe Men.
" Let 'em rule; let 'em manage the Government
" as they pleaſe; let 'em hunt after Triumphs as
" they think fit; let 'em with their Train of Sta-
" tues and Images carry on the War againſt *Mi-*
" *thridates*, and purſue *Sertorius*, and the reſt of
" the Exiles. But then let none of the Peril or
" Toil be put upon you, who have none of the
" Profit on't; unleſs you think they have well e-
" nough paid you for all your Services by the late
" Law made unexpectedly for diſtributing Corn.
" By all means! For thereby they wou'd purchaſe
" the Liberty of all the People of *Rome*, with the
" Price of five Buſhels of Grain; which is no more
" than what is allow'd to the very Priſoners in the
" common Gaols. And as that Pittance keeps 'em
" indeed from utter ſtarving, but impairs their
" Strength, ſo it is not ſufficient for the nouriſhing
" your Families: And the few that are ſo mean-
" ſpirited among you as to embrace the Bait, will
" be ſure to fail even of their humbleſt Hopes and
" Expectations. But were the Allowance never ſo
" ample, yet ſince they make it the Price of your
" Freedom, what Stupidity wou'd it be in you to
" take up with it, and receive it as a Favour at
" the ſame time that you are wrong'd and prey'd
" upon? 'Tis the only way by which they can
" hope, or will ever attempt to prevail againſt ſo
" great a Body as you are. But take heed of their
" Artifices and Deſigns. 'Tis to compaſs the lat-
" ter they ſeem to favour you, and wou'd drill you
" along till the Return of *Cn. Pompey*: Of whom
" while they were under any dread, they bore him
" about in Triumph on their Shoulders; but their
" Fear once over, they calumniate him. Nor are
" theſe great Aſſerters of Liberty, as they call
" themſelves, aſham'd it ſhou'd be ſeen that they,

" ſuch

" ſuch a *Multitude*, muſt have the Concurrence of
" one Man, before they can either redreſs your
" Wrongs, or dare to go through with their own
" Tyranny. For my own part, I am ſatisfy'd that
" *Pompey*, a young Gentleman of ſo much Ho-
" nour, will rather chuſe to be advanc'd by you,
" than to join with them in uſurping over you:
" And that he'd be one of the firſt Men to re-eſta-
" bliſh the Power of the Tribunes. Time was,
" that the Intereſts of all were not at the Pleaſure
" (only) of one, but there was in reality ſuch a
" thing as a Republican Government amongſt us:
" Nor cou'd any *one ſingle* Man then pretend to
" beſtow upon you, or to take away from you
" Liberty and Property. But I have ſaid enough;
" for 'tis not becauſe you are ignorant of your
" Rights, that you are thus bereft of 'em. But I
" know not what Stupidity has poſſeſs'd you, that
" neither Glory nor Reſentment can move you.
" You have chang'd and inverted every thing by
" your Cowardice, and believe you enjoy an a-
" bundant Liberty, becauſe you have not the
" Whip upon your Backs, and becauſe by the ſin-
" gular Favour of your Maſters, you are ſuffer'd
" to walk about, and to breath. But your Friends
" in the Countrey have not to boaſt even of *this*
" Privilege, being ground to pieces amidſt the
" Quarrels of their powerful Neighbours, and ſent
" as Preſents to the Magiſtrates of the Provinces.
" Thus do a *few great Ones* contend; and as to
" the Victory, whoever obtains it, the People is
" ſure to be made a Prey of; and they will be eve-
" ry Day more ſo, unleſs you awake and ſhake off
" your Lethargy; unleſs you are as zealous to re-
" cover your Liberty, as they are to retain you in
" Slavery.

Out of the FOURTH BOOK *this.*

An Epiſtle written by Mithridates *to* Arſaces.

" KIng *Mithridates* to King *Arſaces*, Greeting. " All they who in flouriſhing Circumſtances " are invited into a Confederacy in War, ſhou'd " conſider, firſt, whether it be in their Power or " not, to remain in Peace: And next, whether the " War that's propos'd be a juſt, a ſafe, and an ho- " nourable one, or the contrary. The Peace that " *you*, Sir, enjoy, ſhou'd be continu'd for any " thing I ſhou'd offer to ſay againſt it, if you had " not Enemies, as the wickedeſt in the World, ſo " at this Juncture as eaſy to be conquer'd. Strike " but in and ſubdue the *Romans*, and you will cer- " tainly gain an immortal Fame. I wou'd not " have the Aſſurance to ſolicit you to enter into " an Alliance with me, nor wou'd mix my Adver- " ſity with your Proſperity without the Proſpect of " your being a Gainer. But the things that look " at firſt ſight like Reaſons for keeping you from " coming into it, ſuch as your being at this time " engag'd in another Quarrel with *Tigranes*, and " the evil Condition of my Affairs, will (if you " weigh Matters but duly) be the greateſt Incen- " tives to you to join with me. *Tigranes* will " doubtleſs in the Circumſtance he is in, readily " agree to whatever Terms of Friendſhip you ſhall " think fit to preſcribe. And as for my Loſſes, " they have furniſh'd me with Experience and " greater Capacity for managing with Succeſs: And " they who are now in the Height of their Fortune " may reap from my Condition the Profit of pro- " viding

" viding in time for their own Security. For the
" *Romans* have had, and will always have *one* and
" *the same* constant Cause of warring with all
" Princes and Nations, *An insatiable Thirst after*
" *Wealth and Empire.* 'Twas this that led 'em to
" make War against *Philip* King of *Macedonia.*
" And while they were press'd by the *Carthagi-*
" *nians*, pretending great Kindness for *Antiochus*,
" and making a sham Grant to him of *Asia*,
" they cunningly diverted him from succouring the
" *Macedonian.* But after they had overcome *Phi-*
" *lip*, attacking the same *Antiochus*, they stripp'd
" him of all the Countrey on this side *Taurus*, and
" squeez'd out of him ten thousand Talents. In
" the next Place they fell upon *Perses* the Son
" of *Philip*, who retiring for Sanctuary, after he
" had fought 'em several times with various Suc-
" cess, to the Gods of *Samos*, these Devisers of
" Treachery drew him into a Surrender of himself
" upon Articles; by which, because they had
" granted him his Life, they afterwards thought
" fit to kill him by the odious Contrivance of hin-
" dring him from * Sleep. *Eumenes* himself, whose
" Alliance with them they have so much valued
" themselves upon, was once deliver'd up by 'em
" to *Antiochus*, as the Price of the Peace treating
" between them. Then, for *Attalus*, who was
" substituted (only) a Keeper for *them* of a con-
" quer'd Countrey, of a King they made him the
" worst of Slaves, by the high Taxations and Af-
" fronts that they put on him: Besides, having
" forg'd a Will in his Name, they led † his Son
" *Aristonicus* in Triumph, like an Enemy, for
" aiming

* 'Tis said, that having offended his Keepers in the Prison at Rome, they hinder'd him from sleeping.

† Some make him not to have been the Son of Attalus, or at most but an illegitimate one.

" aiming at his own Inheritance. *Aſia* is block'd
" up and beſieg'd by 'em: and in fine, they ſeiz'd
" upon all *Bithynia* as ſoon as *Nicomedes* was dead;
" tho' there was certainly a Son of *Nyſa*'s, to
" whom they had given the Title of Queen, then
" alive to ſucceed him in the Throne. Need I to
" ſay any thing of my ſelf? With whom, tho' di-
" ſtanc'd from the Bounds of their Empire by
" Kingdoms and Tetrarchies on every ſide, yet
" becauſe reported to them to be rich, and reſolv'd
" againſt Slavery, they ſought a Quarrel by ſetting
" *Nicomedes* upon me, not ignorant of their rave-
" nous Deſigns, and having declar'd openly before
" what has ſince happen'd in fact, that the *Cretans*
" themſelves, the only People then in the World
" truly free, and King *Ptolemy*, wou'd have the
" ſame Fate. I reveng'd the Wrong done to my
" ſelf, by driving *Nicomedes* out of *Bithynia*; I re-
" cover'd back the Part of *Aſia*, of which I told
" you *Antiochus* had been robb'd; and I took off
" from the Neck of *Greece* the Yoke of Servitude
" they had put upon it. 'Twas that infamous Slave
" *Archelaus*'s Baſeneſs in betraying my Army, that
" prevented my Progreſs. And they who were
" kept from taking up Arms by the Cowardice of
" their Minds, or a wretched Policy of thinking to
" reap the Fruit of *my* Efforts, without joining a-
" ny of their *own*, pay ſeverely for their ſcanda-
" lous Conduct. 'Tis with vaſt Sums that *Ptolemy*
" purchaſes the Delay (only) of their falling upon
" him. And the *Cretans*, who have been already
" attack'd, will never ſee an end of the War, be-
" fore their entire Conqueſt and Ruin. As for my
" ſelf, when I ſaw their Drift, that without enter-
" ing into Terms of Peace with me, they only de-
" ferr'd farther contending with me becauſe of their
" own Troubles at home, I went contrary to the
" Opinion of *Tigranes*, who now too late confeſſes

" me

" me in the right; and upon the Foot of my own
" Strength, you being remote, and all others sub-
" mitting to them, renew'd the War: And, first,
" I gave to their Consul *M. Cotta* a great Over-
" throw by Land at *Chalcedon*. And in the next
" place I beat 'em at Sea, and despoil'd 'em of a
" goodly Fleet of Ships. But investing *Cyzicum*
" with a numerous Army, and the Siege happen-
" ing to prove long, Provisions fail'd me, no body
" assisted me, and the Winter hinder'd my keeping
" the Seas. So that, without the Enemy's * for-
" cing me, I was fain to draw off from the Place;
" and in my Return to my own Kingdom, lost the
" Flower of my Men and Navy by Storms and
" Shipwreck at *Para* and *Heraclea*. But recruiting
" my Army afterwards at *Cabira*, I maintain'd by
" several Battels with *Lucullus* a doubtful War of
" it, till we both came at length to a Scarcity of
" Provisions and Subsistence: To supply which,
" he had the Kingdom of *Ariobarzanes* (untouch'd)
" to resort to: And I, all the Countrey about be-
" ing laid waste, retir'd to *Armenia*: The *Romans*
" pursuing, *not me*, but, their *Custom* of ravaging
" all Nations. And becaufe we were got in a nar-
" row corner that hinder'd a great Army's enga-
" ging, and suffer'd by the ill Conduct of *Tigranes*,
" they boast of the mighty Merit of their Arms.
" Now pray consider, whether in case you shall
" look on and let us be crush'd, you'll be stronger
" thereby your self to resist 'em? Or whether our
" Fall will finish the War? I know you to be very
" powerful and opulent in Men, Money, and mi-
" litary Munitions: And 'tis therefore *we* court

L " you

* *Contrary to History, which says that* Mithridates *was beaten off with great Slaughter. But the Business of this Epistle was to put the best Face he cou'd upon Matters.*

" you for an Ally, and *they* have their Eye upon
" you for a Prey. † . . . . . .
" . . . . . .
" . . . . . Are you ignorant that the *Romans*, after having ravag'd as far *Weſt* as the * *Ocean* wou'd permit 'em, are come hither on the ſame Deſign? That they never had from the very beginning Houſe or Land, Wives or Countrey, Government, or in ſhort, any thing but by Rapine? That they came together a parcel of Vagabonds, without any Home, or Parents that they knew of, and ſprung up to be a Plague to the World? That no Laws, either Human or Divine, are able to keep 'em within bounds; but they prey even upon their Friends and Allies, ranſack their Neighbours and remoteſt Foreigners, and over-run both the Wealthy and the Poor; purſuing as Enemies all Nations that are not *their* Vaſſals, but eſpecially Monarchies? Now the popular Governments of the World are few, *moſt* affecting a juſt King; wherefore they take Umbrage at *us*, as like to become their Rivals in Power, and Avengers of the Cauſe of Mankind. For *you*, Sir, who have ſuch a City as ‡ *Seleucia*, one of the greateſt in the Univerſe,

" and

† *Here in the Original are the following Words* (viz.) [Cæterum conſilium eſt Tigranis, regno integro, meis militibus belli prudentibus, procul ab domo, parvo labore, per noſtra corpora bellum conficere: Quando neque vincere neque vinci ſine tuo periculo poſſumus] *which I have left untranſlated as not being ſatisfy'd about the true Senſe of them.*

* *Meaning the* Atlantick *that waſhes* Spain.

‡ *Suppos'd to be often confounded by ancient Writers with* Babylon, *or ſtanding near it, towards the Banks of the* Tigris; *and having drawn to itſelf the Riches and Strength of* Babylon. Bagdat *is thought to have been built in the ſame Place, or very near, where this* Seleucia *ſtood.*

" and are Lord of *Perſia* ſo celebrated for Riches;
" what can you expect from 'em but Deceit in lul-
" ling you aſleep, perhaps, for a while, but at-
" tacking you afterwards with a ſharp War? The
" *Romans* have *one* with all Princes; but the moſt
" *vigorous* againſt ſuch as they think will afford 'em
" the ampleſt Spoils. 'Tis by tricking, by daring,
" by multiplying Wars one upon another they are
" grown ſo powerful. And by ſuch Methods they
" mean to go on to ſubdue every thing, or to pe-
" riſh themſelves. And the latter won't be diffi-
" cult to effect, if *you* with an Army from *Meſopo-*
" *tamia*, and *we* from *Armenia* ſurround *theirs*, la-
" bouring under a want of Proviſions, and not
" capable of any Aſſiſtance. 'Tis only to our De-
" fault and Folly their good Fortune has hitherto
" been owing. You will have the Glory of *ſuccouring*
" at once two of the moſt conſiderable Princes,
" and *deſtroying* the Robbers of Mankind: which
" I warn, I conjure you to apply your ſelf to,
" without preferring the Ruin of *us*, and the ſa-
" ving your ſelf to be devour'd laſt, to the joining
" with us and becoming a Conqueror.

Out of another Book of the Hiſtories (but which of 'em is uncertain) this.

The Speech of * Cotta *the Conſul to the People.*

" MAny, my Countreymen, have been the " Dangers, and various the Difficulties I " have met withal, both at home and abroad, and " in Peace and War. Some of theſe I have found " my ſelf oblig'd to yield to in a way of Patience, " and others, again, by the help of the Gods, and " my own Virtue, I have plainly ſubdu'd: In all " which I can ſay that I never wanted a Spirit for " the Buſineſs before me, nor Induſtry to proſe- " cute any thing I had reſolv'd on. The ill Suc- " ceſs or Proſperity of my Matters might alter my " Circumſtances, but never my Mind. But in theſe " Diſaſters that have lately befall'n me, every thing, " I think, has forſaken me with my Fortune: And " old Age, that is a Burden of itſelf, ſtill doubles " my Afflictions upon me, who have not in this " decrepit Condition the liberty even of dying with " Honour. If I prove a Parricide to you, and af- " ter

* *'Tis likely that it ought not to be written* [C. *or* Cn.] *but* [Marcus] Cotta; *becauſe he is ſuppoſ'd to be the ſame Perſon that was overthrown at* Chalcedon *by* Mithridates, (*and he was* Marcus Aurelius Cotta) *and that this Speech was calculated for mitigating the Diſpleaſure of the People againſt him for that as well as other ill Succeſſes.*

"ter a second ‡ Birth-day indulg'd me, slight the
"Care of my Countrey's Welfare, and the high
"Authority wherewith you have honour'd me,
"what Torture can be enough for me living, and
"what Punishment after my decease? A greater
"undoubtedly wou'd the Wickedness call for, than
"all that is told us to be suffer'd in Hell. From
"my Youth your Eyes were ever upon me, whe-
"ther in a private or publick Station. You had
"my Advice, my Purse and my Tongue, all at
"your Service when you thought fit: Nor did I
"employ any Eloquence of mine in bad Causes,
"or to mischievous Purposes. While I was en-
"deavouring to raise my self Friends, I contracted
"Enemies for adhering to the Publick; but when
"I had fall'n, and * *that* with me, and none being
"at hand to assist me, I look'd for a Ruin *yet* more
"compleat; You restor'd me, Gentlemen, to my
"Countrey and Gods, and bestow'd † *this* highest
"Dignity upon me. For which Favours, I shou'd
"not think my self grateful enough, tho' for eve-
"ry one of 'em I should give (as I cannot) a *Life*
"in return. For tho' *meerly* to live or to die be
"in every Man's own Power, yet to pass a Life
"without any Censure, and go off untouch'd both
"in Fame and Fortune, must be owing to the ge-
"nerous Kindness of one's Countrey. You have
"made me a Consul, my worthy Countreymen, at
"a time that the Commonwealth is embarrass'd
"very much both at home and abroad. The Ge-

‡ *By this Title he calls his Reception into the City, and his Investiture with Magistracy, after his great Defeat by* Mithridates. *And perhaps he stiles it his [second] Birth-day, because he had once before been restor'd, as it were from Exile, upon* Sylla's *quelling* Marius's *Faction.*

* *The Common-Wealth.*

† *The Consulate.*

" nerals in *Spain* require a Supply of Men, Money,
" Ammunition and Corn; and indeed 'tis Neceſſity
" moves 'em to it: For ſince our Allies revolted
" from us, and *Sertorius* retir'd among the Moun-
" tains, they can neither come to an Action with
" the Enemy, nor furniſh themſelves with the Ne-
" ceſſaries they want. The exceſſive Power of
" *Mithridates* forces us to maintain Armies in *Aſia*
" and *Cilicia*. As for *Macedon*, 'tis crowded with
" Enemies; nor are the * Maritime Coaſts of *Ita-*
" *ly*, and of the Provinces leſs infeſted. In the in-
" terim our Revenues being but ſmall, and by rea-
" ſon of the Wars uncertainly got in, hardly de-
" fray a part of our Expence. So that we are forc'd
" to ſail with a Fleet leſs in Number than the
" Tranſport-Veſſels which we us'd to have for car-
" rying Proviſions. If this be from Treachery or
" Negligence of mine, detect and avenge it as
" you ſee cauſe; but if from a general Misfortune
" that we are under, why ſhou'd you run into
" things unſeemly for *your ſelves*, for *me*, and for
" the *Commonwealth*? For my own part, who am
" haſt'ning to the Grave, I deſire to live not a Mi-
" nute longer, if it will be of any Diſſervice to
" *you*; and perſuade my ſelf, that the † Body of a
" *Roman* cannot do itſelf more Honour, than by
" being a Victim to *your* Welfare. I am *here ready*,
" your Conſul *Cotta*: *Ready* to act the ſame
" Part that our Anceſtors have done in publick Di-
" ſtreſſes: I devote my ſelf a Sacrifice for the State;
" but beware whom you deliver her to. For it
" won't be ſo eaſy to find a Man of real Worth that
" will accept ſuch an Honour, as makes him re-
" ſponſible for the happy Event of all Affairs of
" Peace and War, tranſacted not only by himſelf,
" but

* *By the Pyrates.*
† Ingenuo Corpori, *&c.*

" but by others, or elſe liable to a Death of Diſ-
" grace. Only remember, that it was not for A-
" varice, or any thing criminal, I was cut off, but
" that I ſurrender'd my Life for you voluntarily,
" out of regard to the Favours you had done me.
" I beſeech you moſt earneſtly by your own Per-
" ſons, I conjure you, my Friends, by the Glory
" of your Anceſtors, conſult the Intereſt of the
" Commonwealth, and be patient a while under
" Adverſity. Government is attended with a
" Multitude of Cares, and a great many Toils are
" to be undergone in it; ſuch as you cannot be
" diſpens'd from, and expect to recover the Bleſ-
" ſings of Peace; eſpecially ſince we are in ſuch a
" time, that all Provinces, Kingdoms and Coun-
" treys, nay the very Seas, are embroil'd in War.

*Two *Epiſtles from* Salluſt *to* C. Cæſar, *concerning the modelling of the Commonwealth.*

EPISTLE † I.

" IT paſs'd for currant a long time, that King-
" doms and Empires, and the other things
" that are ſo deſir'd by Mankind, were all owing

* *The Title of Orations commonly given to theſe Pieces is undoubtedly wrong; it appearing afterwards by our Author himſelf, that they were not ſpoken, but written.*

† *Tho' there is great Reaſon to believe that this was really the latter of the two, yet I would not diſturb it in the Place that all the Editions have hitherto given it.*

" the Gift of Fortune, and beſtow'd according to
" her own Caprice; in regard they were often-
" times obſerv'd to fall to the ſhare of the leaſt de-
" ſerving, and ſeldom alſo to remain long, or
" without a very ſenſible impair, in the Hands of
" any one whatſoever. But many Examples have
" prov'd the Saying of *Appius* in his Verſes to be
" no Miſtake, *That every Man is the Maker of his*
" *own Fortune:* But the moſt viſible Inſtance is your
" ſelf, who have ſo far tranſcended the reſt of hu-
" man kind, that the Breath of Men ſooner fails
" in only crying up your mighty Deeds, than your
" Virtue does in performing them. But the Em-
" pires rais'd by heroick Virtue, like other Archi-
" tecture, muſt be kept up by the ſame Induſtry
" whereby they were founded, and not ſuffer'd
" thro' want of care to fall to pieces or any way
" decay. For it is not matter of choice in any
" Man to be ſubject to the Will and Power of a-
" nother. And tho' he who is poſſeſs'd of Domini-
" on be ever ſo moderate in the Adminiſtration of
" it, yet while he has it in his Power to be other-
" wiſe, he's always dreaded by Mankind; the more,
" becauſe it happens in fact, that the greateſt part
" of the Monarchs of the World fall into corrupt
" Meaſures, and think to ſettle their Thrones the
" ſurer, by making their People debauch'd and
" weak. But *your* deſign, Sir, ſhou'd be the con-
" trary, and being brave and virtuous your ſelf,
" you ſhou'd aim to rule over none but ſuch. For
" the vicious Fellow in all Governments is ever
" the moſt ſeditious one. It will be a harder mat-
" ter for *you*, than it was for any who have
" gone before you, to eſtabliſh a good Settlement
" on your Conqueſts. The War you wag'd was
" a milder thing than the very Times of Peace
" under ſome. But your conquering Army on the
" one hand looks now to be gratify'd with Plun-
" der; and then the vanquiſh'd on the other ſide,

" are

" are no other than your own Countreymen. But
" of theſe Difficulties you will clear your ſelf by a
" middle Conduct towards each, and by maintain-
" ing the Empire from henceforth, not ſo much
" by the Force of Arms to bridle all Male-
" contents at home, or to oppoſe even a foreign
" Enemy, as by what is harder, but much more
" noble, *by the legal and laudable Arts of Peace.*
" And this is a matter of ſuch Importance, as calls
" not only on the greateſt Wits, but on all Perſons
" that know any thing, to bring in the beſt Coun-
" ſel they are able. For upon the uſe you make
" of your Succeſs, and the foot that you now ſet-
" tle our Affairs, depends, according to my Opi-
" nion, the future State of the Commonwealth.
" And to make this Settlement the happier, I de-
" ſire, Sir, you'll be pleas'd to accept of the few
" things that have occur'd to my Thoughts. You
" wag'd a War, moſt illuſtrious *Ceſar*, with a Man
" of Fame, and of vaſt Riches, ambitious of Pow-
" er, and more fortunate than wiſe. A few there
" were who were truly your Enemies, tho' with-
" out cauſe, that followed his Arms; and the reſt
" upon the Account of Kindred, or other Obliga-
" tions to *Pompey*, became of his Party, and fought
" under him; I ſay under him, becauſe his Pride
" wou'd never admit a Partner in Power; which
" if it had done, the World wou'd not have been ſo
" much diſturb'd as it has. And the common People,
" more from Example than any underſtanding of
" the Cauſe, flock'd in one after another, and fol-
" low'd the foregoing Leader as the wiſer. At
" the ſame time, upon a Report that was ſpread
" abroad by malicious People, that you had a *de-*
" *ſign* againſt the Republick; divers lewd and pro-
" fligate Perſons, led by the hopes of ſharing in
" the Spoil, reſorted to your Camp, and openly
" threatned even ſuch as did not meddle in the War.

" with nothing leſs than Plunder and Death, and " the worſt of Outrages their Wickedneſs cou'd " prompt to. But the greateſt Part of 'em, when " they found that you wou'd neither protect 'em " againſt their Creditors, nor uſe your Fellow-Citi- " zens like Enemies, dropp'd away from you: But " a few ſtaid, to be eas'd of the Perſecution of " Duns; with whom, being up to the Ears in Debt, " they well knew they ſhould be plagu'd at *Rome*. " And it would be a Thing incredible to tell " what mighty Numbers, and of what Quality, " went afterwards on the like Account in to " *Pompey*; whom almoſt all the Debtors made " uſe of, as long as ever the War laſted, as a " ſure Sanctuary againſt their Creditors. Now " ſince the Buſineſs of War and Peace, to put " an End to the one with Clemency, and to " eſtabliſh the other on a laſting Foot, is to be " determin'd by you the Conqueror; conſult in " the firſt Place, Sir, *your ſelf* (for it is by *you* " the Thing muſt be done) what will be the beſt " Meaſures to take. For my own Part, I am of " Opinion, that no tyrannick or cruel Govern- " ments can expect to have any long Duration. " Nor is any Monarch ſo fear'd by his People, " but at the ſame Time he fears them as much. " And what is ſuch a Life but the waging an " everlaſting and dubious War? For being ſafe " neither behind nor before, nor on either Side, " he has no Peace, but is under the Torment of " continual Dread. On the contrary, where the " Prince hath been mild, and has temper'd his " Sovereignty with Moderation, all his Affairs " have run ſmooth, a perpetual Smile has dwelt " on his Reign, and he has fared better even from " an Enemy, than others have done with their " own Subjects. Will any one have the Face to " ſay, That I go about by ſuch Hints as theſe to

" baulk

" baulk the Advantages which your Sword has
" gain'd ye; or that I'm too well affected to the
" Vanquish'd? Yes, by all Means it is so; be-
" cause I put in for allowing the same Treatment
" to Fellow-Citizens, that both we and our
" Forefathers have us'd to give to alien Nations
" and profes's'd Enemies; and declare against the
" barbarous Practice of expiating Blood by perpe-
" tual Slaughters. Is the Memory yet effac'd of
" the Things that were so condemn'd in *Sylla* and
" *Cn. Pompey*? When *Domitius*, *Carbo*, *Brutus*,
" and others were slain, not in the Heat of Bat-
" tel, as they might have been by the Laws of
" War, but murder'd most villanously after it
" was over, and they had laid down their Arms,
" and desir'd Quarter? When several Thousands
" of the *Roman* Commons were butcher'd like
" Sheep in the publick Villa? Heavens! What
" private slaughtering too, and what unexpected
" Massacres were committed! What a plundering
" of Houses was there; and what frightful Run-
" ning of Women and Children into the Arms of
" Husbands and Fathers, to save themselves from
" the Rage of the Sword! In a Word; in all the
" past Revolutions before this, which *you*, Sir,
" have wrought, there was nothing else but Out-
" rage and Blood. And the same Men that acted
" in that, wou'd fain excite *you* now to the like;
" telling you, 'twas the very End of the War;
" to decide whether *Pompey* or *you* shou'd go off
" with the Prize of arbitrary Power: That you are
" not therefore to treat *Rome* as a Commonwealth
" recovered from Slavery, but as a conquer'd
" Thing, and the Victor's Prey: And that it was
" upon this Foundation that the bravest of the
" Army, and the oldest of the Veteranes, after
" having consum'd their Pay, fought one Brother
" against another, and Father against Son, and

" Son againſt Father; with the wiſe Intention
" (without Doubt) that a Pack of Villains ſhou'd
" Reap the Profit of *their* Toils, to maintain
" Debauchery; and ſhou'd blemiſh *their* Victo-
" ries, and diſparage the Credit of Men of Ho-
" nour, by their being join'd with 'em. You
" will not think me, Sir, too ſatyrical; for I
" can't ſuppoſe you are unacquainted with the
" Morals and Temperance of theſe Men, even
" while the Succeſs was as yet doubtful; and
" how ſome of 'em could not refrain in the
" in very Field from Feaſting and Whores, and
" ſuch Licentiouſneſs as *their* Years cou'd ne'er
" have been ſeen in without Scandal in a Time
" even of profound Peace. But I have ſaid
" enough concerning the Sword, and come now
" to the Affair of Peace, the great Thing which
" you and your Friends are conſulting in what
" Manner to ſettle. And firſt, be pleas'd to con-
" ſider throughly the Nature of the Buſineſs you
" are now upon; wherein, by diſtinguiſhing Right
" and Wrong from each other, you will eaſily
" ſee which are the beſt Meaſures to be pitch'd
" on. I am then of Opinion, ſince all Things
" which have had a Beginning muſt alſo end, that
" whenever the fatal Time comes that the Em-
" pire of *Rome* muſt be overthrown, 'twill be
" brought about by a Civil War; wherein *Ro-*
" *mans* ſhall engage againſt *Romans*, and after
" exhauſting their Blood and Vigour, become
" a Prey to ſome foreign Potentate. Without
" *this*, not the whole Race of Mankind, though
" Confederated for the Purpoſe, can pretend
" to hurt it. Now to obviate this, you muſt
" take Care by all Means to prevent Diviſions,
" and to maintain a Union among the Citizens.
" The Way to which will be to ſuppreſs the two
" Vices of Profuſeneſs and Rapine. Not by re-

" viving

" viving * old Laws which an Age ſo long cor-
" rupted wou'd ſpurn at, but by making every
" one keep within the Bounds of his Fortune
" in ſpending: For 'tis now a common Practice
" with the Youth to deny their vicious Appetites
" nothing, to be as laviſh to every Raſcal that
" hangs on 'em, and to ſquander away their
" own Subſtance, and as much of others as they
" can poſſibly come at. This is Gallantry and
" Greatneſs of Mind with 'em: But as for the
" Virtues of Modeſty and Temperance, they
" regard them as Properties of a ſneaking Fellow.
" Now when one enter'd in ſuch Courſes, and
" withal of a fierce and impetuous Nature, comes
" to feel the want of that Fund from whence he
" us'd to ſupply his Riot, he grows a Madman,
" and falls to preying both upon Fellow Citizens
" and Allies; is for overthrowing the preſent Go-
" vernment how well ſoever the ſame is ſettled,
" and for cutting out a new Fortune at any Rate to
" repair the old one: To provide againſt which
" Evils, ſee there be no † Uſurers for the future, that
" all may look to their own Affairs. The only
" Way to preſerve the Publick is for Magiſtrates
" to ſerve the People in general, and not the little
" Ends of a Creditor; and to build their Reputa-
" tion and Greatneſs not upon taking from the
" the Commonwealth, but on adding all that they
" can to it. I know very well what a bitter Pill
" the Reform I ſpeak for would be at firſt; and
" to thoſe eſpecially who by being Conquerors
" ex-

* *Meaning, I ſuppoſe, the Sumptuary Laws, which confin'd the* Romans *to ſuch and ſuch a Proportion in ſpending, and which were gone into Deſuetude and Contempt, by Reaſon of the great Corruption of the Age.*

† *By this our Author ſeems to have deſir'd that the Wealth of the* Romans *ſhou'd depend on the ancient Rent of Lands and Agriculture.*

" expected to have more Licence than ever;
" and not to be under a ſtricter Diſcipline. But
" the Way to eſtabliſh both them and us and all
" our Allies in Quiet, will be to conſult their
" Intereſt, and not their Luſts. On the contrary,
" if you ſuffer the Youth to go on in the Path
" they are now in, the State of *Rome* and your
" own Honour will ſoon come to the Ground
" together. Let me add in fine, that wiſe Men
" engage in Wars, and endure Fatigue for the
" Sake only of an After-Peace. And if you ſe-
" cure not *that* End, what matters it whether you
" had been the Victor or the Vanquiſh'd? In the
" Name then of the immortal Gods ariſe, and take
" our Government in Hand, and break through
" all the oppoſing Difficulties with the Reſolution
" you uſe to ſhew. For *you* are the Man that
" muſt heal our Wounds, or they muſt for ever
" remain uncur'd. Nor to do this are you call'd
" upon for ſevere Sentences and bloody Execu-
" tions, which rather waſte than reform a State;
" but a more merciful and effectual Way, *The*
" *keeping the* Roman *Youth from Debauchery*. And
" it will be true Clemency indeed to remove the
" *Occaſions* of Baniſhment from the Citizens, to
" reſcue them from their Follies and falſe Plea-
" ſures, and to eſtabliſh Peace and Concord to-
" gether: Whereas a Toleration of Corruptions
" and conniving at Vice wou'd be found Cruel-
" ty, by allowing 'em only ſome preſent Plea-
" ſure to be quickly follow'd with laſting Evils.
" As for the Thing that makes others doubt of
" Succeſs, and perhaps deſpond, I mean *the Great-*
" *neſs of the Undertaking*, it gives *my* Mind but
" the more Aſſurance: And though both Sea and
" Land, nay, the Univerſe, (for leſs than that is
" below *your* Genius,) are the Matters, Sir, you
" are to ſet in Order; yet the more Difficulty,
" the more Glory. For the future then, let the

" com-

" common People, too long corrupted with Gifts
" of Corn, and other Briberies, be employed at
" Home, that they mayn't have Leiſure to di-
" ſturb the Publick. And ſuffer not the Youth to
" go on in a Life of Prodigality or Rapine, but
" reduce 'em to a Courſe of Induſtry and Vir-
" tue. Now this may be done by taking away the
" Abuſe and the Reputation of Money, the moſt
" pernicious of all Evils: For after a great deal
" of Reſearching and Conſidering in my Mind by
" what Methods the Heroes of the World have
" become ſo famous, and many Nations attain'd
" ſuch Greatneſs; and then how and by what
" Means the mightieſt Empires have been ruin'd
" too; I found the proſperous and the bad Suc-
" ceſs in either Caſe to be always owing to the
" ſame good and evil Cauſes: And that the Vic-
" tors were ever Deſpiſers of Riches; and, on
" the other Hand, the Vanquiſh'd as fond of 'em.
" Nor indeed is it poſſible for any Mortal to ad-
" vance himſelf from the common Level of Man-
" kind to a Godlike Grandeur without triumphing
" over Wealth, ſlighting all the Pleaſures of the
" Body, and taking ſpecial Care of the Mind, not
" to ſooth the Vanity that is in it, or to gratify
" its Humour with ſuch Things as the baſer Part
" in him may hanker after, but to enrich it with
" generous Principles, to train it up to Fatigue
" and Patience, and to put it forward to brave
" Atchievements: For to ſet up a great Houſe
" or a Villa, and adorn it with Hangings, Paint-
" ings, and Statues, and, in ſhort, to have every
" *fine Thing* to be ſeen in it, except the Maſter, is
" not to have Riches an Honour to *me*; but to
" be my ſelf a Diſparagement to *them*. More-
" over, ſuch whoſe Cuſtom it is to ſtuff their
" Bodies twice in a Day, and have every Night
" a Whore to debauch with, after they have
" lower'd by this Means and enſlav'd the Mind

" that

" that ought to have commanded, cannot expect
" any Service from it in the dull and infirm Con-
" dition they have brought it to: And it happens
" very often in Fact, that such Persons attempt-
" ing any Thing lose their Projects and themselves
" at once for want of Understanding and Spirit.
" But an End might be put to all these and a great
" many other Inconveniencies by lessening the
" Respect that is paid to Money, and providing
" that no Offices in the Government, or other
" Things that Men are so fond of, shall from
" henceforth be *bought or sold.* Furthermore,
" there must Care be taken to preserve the Peace
" of *Italy* and the Provinces; for which there
" need not be different Measures, inasmuch as
" the same Sort of People carry on the same
" Trade there too, and after running through
" their own Estates prey upon all that are round
" about 'em. And lastly, see that the Business of
" the Army be no longer order'd with Partiality,
" by which some have been forc'd to serve the
" * full Number of Thirty Years, while others
" have either been quite exempted or discharg'd
" before they have serv'd out one. And the
" Corn that us'd to be lavish'd away upon idle
" and undeserving People, distribute among the
" disbanded Veterans throughout the Corpora-
" tions and Colonies when they have finish'd their
" Warfare, and are come home. Thus, in the
" fewest Words that I cou'd, have I set before
" you those Things that I think are necessary to
" the publick Welfare, and will also make for your
" own Honour. And now I suppose it may not
" be amiss to add a Word of my own Undertak-
" ing.

* *The Mischief of this was afterwards seen in the terrible Mutiny of the Legions in* Germany *under* Tiberius, *mention'd by* Tacitus.

" ing. Moſt Men have Capacity enough, or pre-
" tend to have it, to cenſure their Neighbours;
" and every one is forward and quick to condemn
" the Deeds and Sayings of others. The Mouth
" can hardly open too much, nor the Tongue
" move nimbly enough to diſcover the ill Nature
" of their Minds. And though I know for my
" own Part that I am like to be laſh'd by it, yet
" I am not concern'd at it. 'Twould have griev'd
" me more to have kept ſilent. For whether
" you go by thoſe Meaſures I have here propos'd,
" or by ſome better, I have ſpoke my Mind like
" a Patriot boldly; I've acquitted my ſelf by do-
" ing my utmoſt; and have nothing left me now
" but to wiſh that whatever Way you ſhall pleaſe
" to take, the immortal Gods may approve and
" proſper it.

EPISTLE † II.

" I Am very ſenſible how nice an Undertaking
" it is to adviſe an Emperor or King, or
" any other Perſon whatſoever, that ſtands poſ-
" ſeſs'd of Supreme Power: Becauſe they have
" numerous Counſellors about 'em; nor is it poſ-
" ſible for any Man to have ſo much Sagacity
" and Penetration, as to foreſee all things that may
" happen. Moreover, ſometimes the worſt Coun-
" ſels ſucceed better than the more wholſome,
" in regard the Events of many Affairs are di-
" rected

† *This Epiſtle ſeems not only to have been the former of the two, as above, but is thought to have been written before* Cæſar's *going into* Spain *to* Petreius *and* Afranius, *and while the War as yet rag'd.*

" rected only by that Humoriſt Fortune. But my
" Inclinations, while but a Youth, carry'd me to
" the Service of the Republick; to underſtand the
" Affairs of which I ſpent a great deal of Time
" and Pains: Not ſo much for the Sake of get-
" ting ſome great Office, which I knew ſeveral
" had obtain'd as eaſily by unworthy ways; but
" to acquaint my ſelf with the true State of the
" Common-wealth both at Home and Abroad, and
" to learn what Force ſhe was of with reſpect to
" Men, Money, and Arms. Upon weighing
" which and more in my Mind, I reſolv'd to ſa-
" crifice to your Intereſts my own Modeſty and
" Reputation, and to run any Hazard whatever
" that might tend to the advancing of your Glo-
" ry. Nor was this Reſult the Effect of Teme-
" rity, or a fond Dependence on your kind For-
" tune, to make good whatever you ſhou'd enter-
" prize; but founded alone upon one great and
" diſtinguiſh'd Quality I have ever obſerv'd in
" you, *That you always exert your ſelf moſt in Di-*
" *ſtreſs.* But your Glory ſurpaſſes that of the reſt
" of Mankind farther, in that they ſooner fail of
" Breath in only praiſing your Heroick Actions,
" than you do of Spirit in performing ſuch things
" as demand their Praiſe. For my own part, I
" believe there is nothing that the greateſt Wit can
" ſuggeſt to your Thoughts, but what they cou'd
" eaſily fall into themſelves. Nor was it from
" too high a Conceit of my own Abilities I have
" preſum'd to offer you my Opinion about the
" modelling of the Government; but becauſe I
" thought it wou'd not be amiſs amidſt the Em-
" ployments and Noiſe of War, and the Hurry of
" Battels and Victories you are in, to mind you
" of ſettling our Civil Concerns. For in Caſe
" your only Aim be to ſecure your ſelf from the
" Violence of your Enemies, and to keep up an In-
" tereſt

" tereſt in the common People to enable you to
" make Head againſt a * Conſul, ſuffer me to ſay
" the Deſign's too mean for *Cæſar*'s Virtue to be
" ſatisfy'd with. But if you have ſtill the ſame
" Spirit that you had at your firſt Appearance in
" the World; and with which you encounter'd
" the Faction of the Nobles, recover'd the *Ro-*
" *man* People from a State of heavy Bondage to
" their ancient Liberty, baffled all the Arms of
" your Adverſaries, while in your Prætorſhip and
" unarm'd your ſelf; and in fine, perform'd ſuch
" glorious Actions not only at Home, but in the
" Field too, as left your very Enemies nothing
" to object againſt you but your growing Great-
" neſs, accept of the Hints I ſhall lay before you
" in relation to the grand Affair of our State,
" and which your Experience will prove pertinent
" or at leaſt not very far from it. Foraſmuch then
" as *Cn. Pompey* from either a ſort of Infatuation
" of Mind, or becauſe he deſir'd nothing ſo much
" as ‡ to croſs you, err'd ſo egregiouſly as to put
" Weapons into the Hands of his Enemies to make
" uſe of againſt himſelf; by the ſame ways he em-
" baraſs'd the Publick, muſt you, Sir, reſtore it
" to a good Condition. He plac'd the ſole Di-
" rection of the Laws, of the Expences of Citi-
" zens, and of the Publick Revenue in the Hands
" only of a few Senators: leaving thereby the
" *Roman* Commonalty, in whom was the chief
" Power before, and † us in Servitude and with-
" out Juſtice. And tho' the making and admini-
" ſtring

* Marcellus *the Collegue of* Æmilius; Cæſar *having, as 'tis ſaid, already ſecur'd the latter to his Intereſt by Money.*

‡ *Relating perhaps to the Refuſal made of Things that* Cæſar *inſiſted on and offer'd to be contented withal before his entring into the Civil War.*

† *Meaning thoſe of the* Equeſtrian *Order.*

" ſtring Laws Laws hath been brought back to its
" Original Seat, and veſted diſtributively in the
" ‡ three Orders, yet the ſame few are ſtill at the
" Helm, and diſpoſe of every thing as they think
" fit, ruin and prey upon honeſt Men, and ad-
" vance thoſe of their own Faction; no Villany
" or Scandal whatever is a Bar ſufficient to ex-
" clude 'em the Magiſtracy; they rap, and rend,
" and engroſs to themſelves every thing of Value
" they can lay their Hands upon; in a word, they
" ravage with a boundleſs Licence, as if the City
" were a ſack'd Place, and make their own Plea-
" ſure their Law. Now it wou'd not give me half
" the Vexation, if theſe Fellows, according to
" their Cuſtom of dealing Tyrannically with all
" People, us'd us like Slaves as the Fruits of a
" Conqueſt obtain'd over us by their own Valour:
" But 'tis quite otherwiſe, 'tis a Pack of Cowards,
" whoſe Bravery lies only in their Tongues, that
" treat us ſo inſolently, and who exerciſe a Domi-
" nion yielded 'em by Chance, and by the Tame-
" neſs of others. And were there ever any Diſ-
" ſentions, any Civil Troubles that deſtroy'd ſo
" many illuſtrious Families as theſe? Was there
" ever ſo much Outrage and Violence known af-
" ter any other Succeſs? *L. Sulla*, who had ſome
" Pretence as a Victor, to do whatever he thought
" fit, at the ſame time that he knew that † *Sulpi-*
" *cius* was ſtrengthening the Side of his Enemies
" againſt

‡ *By the Laws of* Plautius, *a Tribune of the People, who was therein aſſiſted by* Catulus, *'tis ſaid that Judges were to be choſen from out of every Tribe of the Commonalty; and that* Sylla *tranſferr'd and reſtrain'd this to the Senators: but that by the Laws of* Aurelius Cotta *the Prator, brought in by* Pompey's *Conſent, the Matter was divided among the Senators, the Order of Knights, and the Popular Tribunes.*

† *For the underſtanding of this, ſee* Velleius Paterculus's *Hiſtory*, Lib. 2.

" againſt him, put but a * few Perſons to Death;
" chuſing to make the Reſidue his Friends ra-
" ther by Kindneſſes than from Motives of Fear.
" Whereas now, † by the Cruelty of *Cato*, *L. Do-*
" *mitius*, and the others of that Faction, we have
" forty Senators, with many young Gentlemen of
" great Expectation ſlaughter'd like Victims. In
" the mean time theſe moſt implacable of Man-
" kind are not yet ſatisfy'd with the Blood of ſo
" many miſerable Citizens; and neither the Cries
" of Fatherleſs Children, the Caſe of Parents ſtoop-
" ing with Age, the Groans of Men, nor the
" Wailings of Women have been able to work up-
" on their barbarous Minds. But they grow
" dayly fiercer and fiercer, rail at, abuſe, and
" oppreſs any body; ſtrip ſome of their Dignity
" and Offices, and utterly expel others from their
" Countrey. Need I to ſay any thing of your
" ſelf, whoſe Fall the Raſcals wou'd gladly pur-
" chaſe at the Price almoſt of their own Lives?
" Who are not ſo much pleas'd with their Power
" (tho' it came ſo unexpectedly to them) as they
" are mortify'd and diſturb'd at your Grandeur:
" And in fine, who wou'd rather hazard the Loſs
" of their own Liberty by your Deſtruction, than
" to have the *Roman* Empire of great to be made
" by you the greateſt in the World. In regard of
" which it's the more neceſſary that you caſt a-
" bout, Sir, in what manner to eſtabliſh our Af-
" fairs on the ſureſt Foundation. As for my ſelf,
" I ſhall lay before you my Sentiments of the Mat-
" ter with the utmoſt Frankneſs: But it muſt be
" ſubmitted to your Judgment to approve and pur-
" ſue what you think fitteſt. I conceive then, that
" our

* *This was before his Expedition againſt* Mithridates, *but afterwards none was more cruel than* Sylla.

† *Inſtead of* [Cum Catone, *&c.*] *as the common Editions have it, it ſhou'd, I conceive, be* [à Catone, *&c.*]

" our Republick, according to the Notion I have
" had of it from my Forefathers, may properly
" be divided into two Parts, *the Nobility, and the*
" *Commons.* The Supreme Authority was at firſt
" in the former; but the latter, as more nume-
" rous, was the ſtronger. Which therefore fre-
" quently gave Occaſion to Seceſſions of the Po-
" pulace for aſſerting their Privileges. The con-
" ſtant Reſult of which was, that the Power of
" the Fathers ſuffer'd Diminution, and that of the
" others acquir'd Increaſe. But the great Point of
" the People's Liberty lay in this, that there was
" no Perſon, how Potent ſoever, above the Laws.
" A Nobleman ſhew'd above a Commoner, not
" by Riches, or a Haughtineſs of Behaviour, but
" by Actions of Gallantry, and a great Reputation.
" The Meaneſt engag'd in Huſbandry or Arms,
" wanted nothing that was neceſſary or conveni-
" ent, but was ſufficient for himſelf, and for the
" Service of his Country. But after having ſuf-
" fer'd themſelves to be ſtripp'd of their † Lands
" by little and little, and coming through Pover-
" ty and their own Slothfulneſs to be at a Loſs for
" Home or Habitation, they began to covet the
" Properties of others, and to ſet their Liberties
" and the Publick to Sale. By which Means, the
" People, that once was Lord of Nations and
" Conqueror of the World, by Degrees dwindled
" to almoſt nothing; and inſtead of Empire, com-
" mon to 'em all, every individual Perſon pro-
" cur'd a Saddle for his own Back. Now a
" Multitude ſo corrupted as this, and not only
" ſo, but diſtributed into different Trades and
" Manners of Living, without the leaſt Union
" among

† *See the Miſchief of not keeping up to the* Agrarian *Laws; for want of which a few great ones aggrandiz'd themſelves yet more, by getting all the Lands that they cou'd, and deſtroying the Balance of Property in the State.*

" among them, ſeem to me to be very unfit, " of themſelves, to be truſted with the Common- " wealth. But by adding new Citizens to them, " I have great Hopes they will all rouze with " one and the ſame Ardour for Liberty; and " 'tis likely the old will appear as zealous for " throwing off the Yoke that's upon 'em, as " the latter for holding the Liberty they bring " with 'em. This intermingled Body of Citi- " zens I conceive it adviſeable to ſettle in the " Colonies. By which Means both the Repub- " lick will never want Soldiers for the Wars, " and the People employ'd in honeſt Occupations " will have no Opportunity to diſturb the Go- " vernment. I am not ſo ignorant as not to fore- " ſee what a Tempeſt of Rage and Madneſs the " putting of this Project in Execution will cer- " tainly raiſe among our Nobility; who will cha- " mour and ſtorm at it under Pretence that eve- " ry Thing is turn'd topſy turvy; that it is at " Bottom a mighty Hardſhip and Slavery impos'd " on the ancient Members; and, in fine, that " the Empire from a free State will be turn'd in- " to a Sort of Monarchy, inaſmuch as ſuch a Bo- " dy of Men is naturaliz'd into *Roman* Citizens " by the Act and Donation of *one Perſon*. Now, " for *my* Part, I look upon him who endeavours " to keep *himſelf* well with a Party to the De- " triment of the Republick in the Interim, to be " all the while an Enemy to *himſelf*. And ſince " every private Perſon may find his Account in " the publick Advantage, to make any Scruple " of promoting the latter muſt argue a ſtrange " Unconcernedneſs of Mind. 'Twas the great Aim " of *M.* * *Livius Druſus*, during all the Time of " his Tribuneſhip, to advance the Intereſt of the " Nobility

* *See* Velleius Paterculus's *Hiſtory*, Lib. 2.

" Nobility; nor was it his real Deſire at the " firſt to have any Thing done but by *their* Au- " thority. But *they*, who were factious, and more " us'd to Deceit and Oppreſſion than to honeſt " Deſigns, finding that a * Benefit very diffuſive " was like to be owing to *one Man*, and being " each of 'em conſcious to himſelf that his own " Ends were evil and ſiniſter, took a Meaſure " of *Druſus* by themſelves; and fearing the Cre- " dit and Influence he wou'd gain might enable " him to make himſelf Maſter of the State, op- " pos'd him, and thereby baffled his Meaſures; " but withal embaraſs'd their own Cauſe by it. " This ſhould excite you, Sir, to provide your " ſelf faithful Friends, and a good Strength. 'Tis " not ſo difficult for a Man of Courage to deal " with an Enemy that attacks him openly; but " the Brave have as little Thought about guard- " ing againſt a treacherous Deſign, as contriving " one. Foraſmuch then as upon introducing theſe " new Members into the City the preſent Com- " monalty are to be reſtor'd, make it your great " Buſineſs to eſtabliſh Sobriety and laudable Man- " ners among them; and be ſure likewiſe to or- " der it ſo, that both old and new may be laſt- " ingly united. But the greateſt Thing of all " you can do for the Publick, your Countrey- " men, your ſelf, your Poſterity, and, to ſum " up the whole, for Mankind, will be to root out " the Deſire of Money, or at leaſt to abate it as " much as poſſible. Without ſuch a Reform as " this no Affairs either publick or private, or at " home or abroad will go right: For where Ri- " ches are had in Admiration, no Principles, no " Inſtitutions, no Diſpoſition, can hold out; but " the

* *Extending the Rights and Privileges of the City to the Inhabitants of* Italy.

" the Soul at last, or sooner or later, will yield " and surrender up to the Allurement. I have " often heard of Princes and States, that by having " too great a Respect to Wealth, have brought " to Destruction powerful Empires, which before " they had rear'd by Poverty and Virtue. Nor " ought any to wonder at the Matter: For when " a Man of merit observes that a Rascal shall gain " himself Reputation, and have every Body ca- " ress him for his Pelf, he is at first in a mighty " Rage, and his Spirit works and labours with Re- " sentment; but the pleasing Bait of Riches and " Honours finding Way by Degrees into his Mind, " his Virtue melts before the Temptation, and " he sinks down into the common Corruption. " For the *Life* of gallant Actions is *Glory*; and if " you take away that Incentive, Virtue will be " but a burdensome Thing. In a Word, where- " ever Money is the Idol, Faith, Honour, Inte- " grity, Moderation, and every Thing Praise-wor- " thy, is despis'd: For there is but one, and a " rugged Way whereby to arrive at true Glory; " but to Wealth a Thousand, at the Choice of its " Seekers: And the latter is often easier acquir'd " by ill and corrupt Practices than by good. " Be sure then in the first Place to destroy the " Authority and Credit of Money. No Body " will be look'd upon more or less with Regard " to what Riches he is Master of, if neither Prae- " tor nor Consul for the future be made for his " Wealth, but his real Dignity. But as to the " Business of creating of Magistrates, suffer the " Suffrages of the People to determine it. For " * Judges to be made by a *few* is like Monar-

* By Judges here, I wou'd understand the Privilege of debating, and perhaps concurring in the making of Ordinances relating to the Government; like Common-Council-Men in some Constitutions.

" chy; and to chooſe 'em becauſe of their Mo-
" ney is ſcandalous. I would therefore have all
" of the firſt * Claſs capacitated to be of the
" Common Council; of whom yet let the Num-
" ber be enlarg'd. I do not find that the People
" of *Rhodes*, or other Cities, ever repented of
" their Method of managing theſe Matters;
" among whom both the Rich and the Poor, as
" they came into Court, ſate promiſcuouſly, and
" debated alike of all Affairs, as well the moſt
" important as the ſlighteſt. But in this Point of
" Creation of Magiſtrates, I don't think 'twas an
" ill Law which *C. Gracchus* got enacted in his
" Tribuneſhip, that the † Centuries qualified to
" vote ſhou'd be choſen by Lots from out of the
" five Claſſes, thrown together in one Body.
" Whereby being all equall'd in Dignity, without
" any Difference in regard of Riches, they will
" every one have an Emulation to *diſtinguiſh* him-
" ſelf by Services to the Publick. They are Re-
" medies very obvious and eaſy that I offer againſt
" the Michiefs of Money. And Things derive
" their Recommendation and Value from that
" Uſe which they are of. Wickedneſs is com-
" mitted from a Proſpect of Gain by it. Take
" away that, and who will be ſo baſe as to act
" the Part of a Villain for nothing? But let
" looſe but Avarice upon us, 'tis a ravenous
" Beaſt, 'tis inſatiable, intolerable: Houſes and
" Tem-

* *A Claſs was a certain Number of Citizens reduc'd into a Body upon a Sort of Roll made by the Cenſors.* Servius Tullius *diſtributed the People into five Claſſes; the firſt whereof, as the richeſt, was moſt powerful.*

† Servius *likewiſe ſubdivided the Claſſes into Centuries; but allow'd the firſt Claſs the Prerogative of voting firſt, as being the wealthieſt; whereby it often found Means to engroſs the whole Buſineſs to it ſelf, excluſive of the reſt: To remedy which, this Law of* C. Gracchus *was made.*

" Temples, Cities and Countries, are laid waſte
" by it wherever it comes: It confounds all
" Things both human and divine; makes its Way
" into Garriſons and Armies; and, in ſhort, be-
" trays Integrity, Modeſty, Children, and Pa-
" rents, Government, and every Thing. But
" once Ruin the Reputation of Money, and the
" Fury of Avarice will quickly give Way to the
" ſuperior Power of Honour and Virtue. Now
" though all, whether Enemies or Friends, are
" very ſenſible of the Truth of this, you muſt
" notwithſtanding expect to meet with a great
" Oppoſition from the Faction of the Nobles;
" whoſe Intrigues if you guard your ſelf but
" againſt, the reſt will be all Carpet Way for you.
" If they were Men who had any Thing of
" worth in 'em, they wou'd rather endeavour
" to outdo, than purſue with Envy ſuch as
" have Virtue. But Sloth and Idleneſs having
" wholly poſſeſs'd 'em, they are mad at the brave
" Performances of others, follow them with De-
" traction, and look upon their Fame as a Thing
" that flaſhes Diſgrace upon themſelves. But
" what need I ſay any Thing more of 'em, as
" though they were not very well known? The
" Courage, the Senſe, the Vivacity, of * *M. Bi-*
" *bulus*, to be ſure open'd him the Way to the
" Conſulſhip: A Creature that can hardly utter a
" Word; yet Knave enough, though without any
" Cunning. What can ſuch a Perſon pretend to,
" to whom the greateſt of Dignities, the Con-
" ſulate, is in Reality the greateſt Diſgrace? As
" for † *L. Domitius*, what is his Merit, whoſe e-
" very Member is polluted with Villany? Of an
M 2 inſolent

* *He, I ſuppoſe, who was Collegue of* Cæſar.

† L. Domitius Ænobarbus, *who had been Conſul ſome Years before.*

" inſolent Tongue, murderous Hands, run-away " Feet, and, in ſhort, immerſed in ſuch Vices as " are not to be named. *Cato*'s the only Perſon " among 'em, who, I think, has a Spirit not to " be deſpis'd: A crafty, talkative, double-deal- " ing Wit; for which he's indebted to the *Grecian* " Learning. But Induſtry, Vigilance, Gallantry " or Virtue are not to be met with among the " *Greeks*. Can you think the *Roman* Empire main- " tainable by the empty Precepts furniſh'd by ſuch " as have loſt their own Liberty by their Sloth? " As for all the reſt of the Party, they are only a " Company of Noble Drones, who, like ſo many " Statues, have nothing elſe but ſuch or ſuch a " Name to diſtinguiſh them. * *L. Poſthumius*, and " † *M. Favonius* ſeem to reſemble the ſuperfluous " Lading of a great Fly-boat: If the Voyage hap- " pens to be ſmooth without any Ruffle, all is well; " but in caſe of a Storm 'tis the firſt Goods that " are thrown overboard, as of leaſt Value. Ha- " ving ſaid as much as appears convenient about " the reforming and ſettling of the Commonalty, " I will now proceed to the Conſideration of what " is to be done in relation to the Senate. After " my being grown up to ſome Maturity of Years and " Underſtanding, perceiving my Genius not to in- " cline ſo much to the Buſineſs of Arms or Horſes, " tho' I us'd by the by ſome bodily Exerciſe, I em- " ploy'd my ſelf moſtly in Learning and Study. " And after a great deal of time ſpent in conver- " ſing both with Books and with Men, I found that " all Empires and Nations ſtood firm, and flou- " riſh'd ſo long as their Councils contina'd vigorous " and ſound: But that, when *theſe* became languid " and corrupted through Cowardice, Favour, or " De-

* *Of* L. Poſthumius, *or his Character, there is little left us.*
† *For* Favonius, *ſee* Cæſar, Dio, *and* Plutarch.

" Debauchery, the Government (firſt) decay'd in
" its Strength, in the next place loſt its Dominion,
" and at laſt ſunk into perfect Slavery. Now I
" think that ſuch Perſons in a State as enjoy moſt
" Authority and Honour, and make a greater Fi-
" gure than the reſt, ought to have a greater care
" for its Welfare. For others, who have only *Li-*
" *berty* by its Standing, can conſequently loſe no
" more by its Fall; but they who have rais'd them-
" ſelves to Preferments and good Eſtates by their
" Services for the Publick, muſt needs, in caſe of
" its tottering or Declenſion, be ſeiz'd with a thou-
" ſand Agonies of Mind: running about this way
" and that to preſerve their Glory, their Riches, or
" their Liberty; and the higher they were while in
" Proſperity, the more impatient will they be of
" Adverſity. Wherefore in a Government where
" the Commonalty has reſpect to a Senate, as a
" Body to its Head, and the latter is to propoſe
" Counſels for the other only to put in Execution,
" the Fathers muſt always have able Heads, but
" the People's Sagacity will be little wanted. It
" was upon this foot that our Anceſtors, even
" when they were preſs'd by the powerfulleſt
" Armies, and had loſt their Men, Horſes, and
" Money, never deſponded or gave out, but re-
" main'd firm in the defence of their Empire. No
" Force of Enemies whatſoever, no Frowns of an
" adverſe Fortune, nor an empty Treaſury were
" able to diſcomfit 'em; but the Acquiſitions they
" had made by their Bravery they maintain'd to the
" laſt drop of their Blood. But this was owing
" more to the Union and Vigour of their Coun-
" ſels, than the Fortune of their Arms. With
" *them* the *Publick* was *one* and *entire*, for the Wel-
" fare of which *alone* they conſulted: As for Fac-
" tion, there was no ſuch thing, unleſs it was to
" combine againſt their Enemies; nor was it the
" way of private Men to meditate only their own

" Greatneſs; but every one exerted himſelf, both " Body and Mind, for the Intereſt of his Country. " Whereas now it is quite otherwiſe; and a few " Noblemen poſſeſs'd by Sloth, Strangers to Fa- " tigue, Induſtry or Arms, but become ſtrong by " Factions at home, proudly Lord it over all the " World. So that the Fathers, by whoſe Advices " the Commonwealth, whenever it totter'd, us'd " formerly to be kept up, being brought into a " State of Subjection, are driven fluctuating this " way and that, are ſometimes for one thing, and " anon for another; and find themſelves oblig'd to " pronounce every thing good or bad for the Pub- " lick, as the Animoſities and arrogant Spirit of " theſe their tyrannical Maſters will have it. But " were the Actings of all free, and their Suffrages " given with more *Secreſy*, the Faction of the No- " bles wou'd be leſs prevailing, and the Republick " in proportion more flouriſhing. But ſince we " cannot expect to have the Authority of all in the " Houſe equal, becauſe of the Advantages of Qua- " lity, Intereſt, and numerous Tenants that ma- " ny of the great ones have had the luck to derive " from their Anceſtors; while the reſt, for the " greater Part of 'em are not capable of making " much Figure, by all means order it ſo, that no " Body may be under any *Awe* in voting. That " may be effected by doing it *privately*; wherein " every one will be nearer to his own and the " publick Intereſt than another's. All Men, as " well the evil as the good, the baſe as the gallant, " are deſirous of Liberty. But the moſt part, ſot- " tiſh and daſtardly, abandon the Cauſe through " ſcandalous Cowardice; and receive, like ſo ma- " ny vanquiſh'd Slaves, that yoke of Servitude " tamely on their Necks, which they might " have a fair Chance, upon contending it, of im- " poſing, perhaps, on their proud Adverſaries. " Now there are, I conceive, two things that

" wou'd

" wou'd put the Senate on a good footing; the *en-*
" *larging their Number*; and *voting by the* * *Tablet.*
" By the latter every Man's Suffrage wou'd re-
" main conceal'd, and ſo he wou'd be free in't;
" and by adding of Members, the Body wou'd be
" ſtronger, and there wou'd be more to ſerve the
" Republick. For now-a-days it happens that moſt
" being either engag'd in the Courts of Judicature,
" or the private Affairs of themſelves or Friends,
" neglect attending the Buſineſs of the Publick;
" tho' perhaps the non-appearance of many is not
" at Bottom ſo much owing to other Occupations
" as their not being able to brook the Arbitrary
" Proceedings of a Party. For a Handful of No-
" blemen, with a few Senators, Retainers to the
" Faction, and Creatures of the great ones, take
" upon 'em to approve and condemn, to decree
" and manage every thing as they pleaſe. But
" when the Number of Senators is augmented,
" and all are to give their Votes by the Tablet,
" our Grandees will down with their Haughtineſs,
" finding they muſt cringe to thoſe, whom before
" they domineer'd ſo tyrannically over. Perhaps,
" Sir, upon reading my Letter you will call upon
" me to mention the Number I wou'd have this
" new-modell'd Senate conſiſt of; and into what
" Parts or Committees, and for what Purpoſes they
" will beſt be diſtributed: How I wou'd have the
" Privilege

* *The* Romans *did not always obſerve the ſame way of voting. That by the Tablet was in this manner: Every Senator had two little Tables deliver'd to him; upon one were theſe two Letters* [U.R.] *i. e.* Ut Rogatis. *Let it be as you deſire: And upon the other a great* Roman [A] *for* Antiquo, *or, I diſapprove it. They who were for the Law propos'd, threw into a little Cheſt the firſt Tablet; and they who diſlik'd it, the latter. And upon numbring the whole, the Difference was ſet down in another void Table by Pricks or Dots. By which means it wou'd not be known who voted for who; like balloting among the Moderns.*

" Privilege of debating in thoſe of the † firſt Claſ-
" ſis diſpos'd of; and how many Perſons of all
" Orders to be let into it; with the Method of
" Diviſion for 'em. Of all this it wou'd not be
" difficult to draw up a particular Scheme: But I
" wou'd firſt propoſe the Project in general, and
" have it approv'd by you for a good one. If you
" embrace my Meaſures on the Main, 'twill be
" eaſy enough to agree the Plan. I wou'd wil-
" lingly have all the Advices I have any Concern
" in to be wholſome and fortunate; for my
" own Reputation is like to riſe in Proportion to
" that Succeſs which they bring you. But be that
" as it will, my Deſire is, that you will take Care
" of the Commonwealth with the utmoſt ſpeed,
" be it which way you pleaſe. *Liberty* is a Thing
" that's dearer to me than all the private Glory in
" the World: And I beg of you, moſt illuſtrious
" General, and earneſtly conjure you, that you
" will not, after having ſubdu'd the *Gauliſh* Na-
" tion, ſuffer the mighty and unconquer'd Em-
" pire of the People of *Rome* to periſh by Age, or
" fall to pieces through Faction and Diſſentions.
" Shou'd ſuch a Calamity as that happen, you
" wou'd not have Peace either Day or Night: but
" your Soul wou'd be haunted waking and ſleeping,
" and a reſtleſs Fury wou'd continually hurry it.
" For it is with me an undoubted Truth, * that
" the Affairs of all Mankind are under the Eye of
" a divine Providence: And that there are no
" Actions whatſoever, evil or good ones, that
" will paſs unnotic'd; but that according to their
" different Nature they will have a Retribution as
" different. And tho' it be ſometimes late e'er it
" comes,

† *As to what was afterwards done in this and other Matters by* Auguſtus, *See* Dio, Lib. 55, *&c.*

* *This Hint might probably proceed from our Author's believing* Cæſar *to be addicted to the Sect of* Epicurus.

" comes, yet every Man, in the mean time, is at
" at Peace, or uneaſy as his Conſcience is clear.
" Were but now your Countrey and Anceſtors to
" beſpeak you, they wou'd do it in this manner:
" We, O *Cæſar*, the gallanteſt of Men, begat thee
" in the nobleſt of Cities, to be a Defence and an
" Ornament to us, and at the ſame time a Ter-
" ror to *our Enemies*: What we with Fatigues and
" Toils and infinite Hazards had acquir'd to our
" ſelves, that we deliver'd over to thee, toge-
" ther with thy Life, as ſoon as thou waſt born
" to us: A Countrey, the moſt powerful upon
" Earth; a Deſcent, the moſt illuſtrious in that;
" an Education and Qualities, for a Hero; with
" an honourable Share of the Poſſeſſions of For-
" tune; in a word, all the Felicities of Peace, and
" the moſt glorious Triumphs of War. For theſe
" Benefits ſo great and engaging, we don't expect
" from thee Tyranny or Lewdneſs, but the Re-
" ſtitution of expiring Liberty. Give us but that,
" and the Fame of thy Virtue ſhall fly through
" all the habitable World. For tho' you have
" both at Home and Abroad perform'd Atchieve-
" ments bold and heroick, yet thoſe do but equal
" your Glory with that of other Perſons of Prow-
" eſs; whereas, if you reſtore a State, the moſt
" celebrated that the Univerſe knows in point of
" Dignity and extent of Empire, from the Brink
" of Ruin, upon which it ſtands, there is none
" will come up to your Reputation; there is none
" that will ſhine like you upon Earth. For if the
" Diſeaſe or the Fate of our Empire be ſuch, that
" it muſt not longer ſubſiſt, who is there ſees not
" ~~that the whole Globe will be fill'd with Wars,~~
" and Blood, and Deſolation? But if poſſeſs'd
" with a generous Ambition, you ſhall anſwer the
" Inſtances of your Parents and Countrey, the
" Glory of reſtoring the *Roman* Republick will
" be handed down to lateſt Poſterity, with a Di-
" ſtinction

" ſtinction from that of the reſt of Mortals; and
" your very Death will be follow'd with more
" Luſtre than attends even a Life. For the Living
" are ſometimes clouded by Fortune, and more
" frequently leſſen'd by Envy; but when Death
" has remov'd 'em from its Sight, the Mouth of
" Detraction is ſoon ſtopp'd, and the Merit of
" Virtue raiſes it ſelf, and appears more illuſtrious
" than ever. Thus in the ſhorteſt Compaſs I cou'd
" have I ſet before you thoſe Things that I
" thought uſeful for the State and your ſelf; and
" whatever the Meaſures are you ſhall take, I be-
" ſeech the immortal Gods to ſucceed 'em for the
" good of the Publick, and your own Glory.

FINIS.

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